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V O Y A G E S

MADE IN THE YEARS 1788 AND 1789,

FROM

CHINA TO THE N. W. COAST OF AMERICA.

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V O Y A G E

MADE IN THE YEARS 1782 AND 1783

FROM

CHINA TO THE N.W. COAST OF AMERICA

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CHINA



John Meares Esq^r

John Elphinstone
1834
V O Y A G E S

MADE IN THE YEARS 1788 AND 1789,
FROM
CHINA TO THE N. W. COAST OF AMERICA:

WITH
AN INTRODUCTORY NARRATIVE

OF
A V O Y A G E
Performed in 1786, from BENGAL, in the Ship NOOTKA.

TO WHICH ARE ANNEXED,
OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROBABLE EXISTENCE
OF
A NORTH WEST PASSAGE.

AND SOME ACCOUNT OF
THE TRADE BETWEEN THE NORTH WEST COAST OF AMERICA
AND CHINA; AND THE LATTER COUNTRY AND
GREAT BRITAIN.

By JOHN MEARES, Esq.

V O L I.

L O N D O N:
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1791.

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Y O U R

RESPECTFUL

THANKS FOR YOUR

INTEREST

IN THE

PROGRESS

OF THE

INDUSTRY

OF THE

UNITED STATES

1890

PRINTED BY THE

1890

TO THE
RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE, &c.

WHOSE COMMERCIAL ERUDITION AND OFFICIAL STATION,

RENDER HIM THE BEST JUDGE,

AND THEREFORE,

THE MOST HONOURABLE PATRON,

OF ALL WORKS WHICH TEND TO PROMOTE THE INTERESTS,

AND ENLARGE THE BOUNDARIES OF BRITISH COMMERCE;

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED,

WITH THE GREATEST RESPECT,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S MOST OBLIGED,

AND FAITHFUL HUMBLE SERVANT,

JOHN MEARES.

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P R E F A C E.

THE wishes of friends,—the political circumstances of the moment,—and, as I have been made to believe, the public expectation, have induced me to add the following Voyages to those which have already been published, to improve the navigation and extend the commerce of the British Empire.—I do not pretend to be the rival,—but rather consider myself an humble follower of those eminent navigators whose reputation is become a part of the national fame;

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and though I may be permitted, as it were, to envy their superior talents and advantages, I most sincerely add my feeble testimony to that merit, which has ranked them among the illustrious names of my country.

Indeed I feel it a duty I owe myself, as well as to moderate the sanguine expectation which may have arisen respecting the history of those Voyages in which I have been engaged, and may be said to have conducted, to observe, that they were Voyages of COMMERCE, and not of DISCOVERY; and that whatever novelty they may possess, or original information they may bestow, arose out of, and form, as it were, an incidental part of a commercial undertaking.

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P R E F A C E. ix

The vessels committed to my command, were fitted out in the ports of the East, by the commercial zeal of British subjects in that part of the globe.—It was my office, under their spirited and confidential encouragement, to explore new regions of Trade; the interest therefore of those patriotic merchants and gentlemen who had entrusted a very considerable property to my care and controul, and the honour of gaining a small portion of that reputation which is due to those who promote the extension of the British commerce, were the sole incentives to my zeal, and alone supported me under the difficulties, and amidst the dangers I encountered in discharging my duty. When I was struggling with the storms of the Pacific Ocean,—when I was locked up in ice, and suffering

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the accumulated wretchedness of that situation on the shores of America,—or when I was engaged in advancing the principal object of the Voyage,—and availing myself of any accidental opportunity which occurred, of exploring those dubious coasts, I little thought it would be my future lot to give the history of this part of my maritime life to the world.—If I had looked forward to the possibility of such an event, I should have enlarged my observations, and been more minutely attentive to a variety of objects which were but cursorily remarked ; and qualified myself, during every part of my Voyages, to have given them all the interest they were capable of receiving, and all the information they were capable of producing. But without endeavouring to deprecate criticism by an affected humility,

humility, or defying it by an unbecoming confidence, I shall venture to express my hopes,—that this Work will be found to contain information useful to commerce, and instructions which future navigators may not disdain to consider; that the following pages will afford some entertainment to men who are curious in examining the various modes of human life; and that there are many passages in them which will heighten the feelings of those who “fit and think on what a sailor suffers.”

The Memoir on the China Trade, &c. must speak for itself:—The Observations I have ventured to make on the possibility of a North West Passage, must also be submitted to the candid consideration of investigating minds.—It is, however, proper to add, that

that in supporting my opinion on that subject, I have had occasional recourse to the corroborating arguments of Mr. Dalrymple, in his admirable pamphlet on the Fur Trade, &c.

That every possible attention has been employed to render this Work, in some degree, worthy of the public favour, will, I trust, appear to every candid reader of it.—For its inaccuracies, though, I trust, they will not be found to be very numerous, I must rest for excuse on the very great haste in which it was necessarily prepared to meet the public impatience;—and I am disposed to flatter myself that the indulgence I ask will not be denied me.

JOHN MEARES.

Nov. 16, 1790.

AN
INTRODUCTORY VOYAGE
OF THE
NOOTKA,—CAPT. MEARES,
FROM
Calcutta, to the North West Coast of America,
IN THE YEARS 1786, AND 1787.

IT might, perhaps, prove uninteresting to the reader were I to enter upon the history of this commercial expedition,—or to dwell on the patriotic spirit of many distinguished persons at Bengal which supported it, as well as those honourable marks of zealous friendship and liberal confidence, which accompanied its consignment to my care :—It might also be equally unimportant to others to be informed of the opposition it received,—the arts employed to frustrate it, and the various, as well as painful difficulties

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culties I had to surmount in the arrangement of it :—I shall, therefore, proceed at once to relate the principal occurrences of the voyage which it occasioned.

On the 20th of January 1786, two vessels were purchased for the purpose of this expedition, which were named the *Nootka*, of 200 tons, and the *Sea Otter*, of 100 tons. The former was commanded by myself, the latter by William Tipping, a lieutenant in the Royal Navy.

By the 20th of February, they were ready for sea, when two offers were made to the committee, who were appointed to arrange the necessary preparations for the voyage, on the part of the general body of proprietors : the one was to freight the *Sea Otter* to Malacca with opium, which would be a gain of about three thousand rupees ;—The committee, therefore, did not hesitate an instant in accepting it ; and the *Sea Otter* was immediately dispatched on her voyage : From Malacca, Captain Tipping was to proceed to the North West Coast of America, and the necessary arrangements were made for our meeting there.

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The other offer was to convey Mr. Burke, Pay-master General of the King's Forces in India, with his suite, to Madras, for which he proposed to pay the sum of three thousand rupees.—This advantage was not to be refused, and accordingly I had the honour of conveying him thither.

On the 2d of March, we got under sail and proceeded as far as the governor's garden, where, in the evening, we received Mr. Burke and his suite on board.

On the 12th of March we lost sight of land, and proceeded on our voyage to Madras, where we arrived on the 27th, without the intervention of any occurrence worthy of relation.—Our passage was esteemed extremely quick at that particular season of the year.—After landing our passengers and procuring additional supplies of stores and provisions, by the kind assistance of Jos. Dupree Porcher, Esq. we prepared to put to sea, which we accordingly did on the 7th of April, the very day that his Excellency Sir Archibald Campbell arrived to take upon him the government of Madras. At this place we received every mark of kindness, attention and encouragement. Nor among

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the many to whom we are still grateful for favour and for friendship, can we hesitate to mention the names of Mr. Burke, Mr. Porcher, and Mr. Boyd, as well as to acknowledge the peculiar obligations we received from his Excellency Governor Davidson.

It may not be improper to mention that, at the time of our leaving Bengal, all kinds of stores were so extremely scarce, that the ship was but barely equipped for one year; and as for provisions, we had not on board sufficient for twelve months, and nothing was more apparent than the impossibility of completing a voyage of this nature in such a state. We had, indeed, looked to Madras in some measure, for the assistance we received, which was to complete our equipment for eighteen months. With respect to the number of our crew we were strongly manned, but they were chiefly of a description that necessity rendered acceptable. The whole amounted to forty Europeans, including the purser, surgeon, five officers, and boatswain, and ten lascars whom we took in at Madras. But all our exertions were fruitless in obtaining a carpenter,

INTRODUCTORY VOYAGE. ♣

penter, and the want of such an artizan was most severely felt in every part of the voyage.

It was the 23d of May before we arrived at Malacca:—our passage was unusually tedious, and afforded time for the scurvy to make its appearance. In this early part of our voyage we lost the boatswain, who was one of the best men in the ship, and, in our situation and circumstances, proved an irreparable misfortune. On our arrival at Malacca we were informed that Captain Tipping had sailed for America, having compleated his business there. Here we wooded, watered and took in the necessary refreshments, not only to supply the provisions already exhausted, but to enable us to give every possible assistance to Captain Tipping, when we should meet him on the Coast of America. On the 29th we put to sea, after saluting the Dutch Fort with nine guns, which compliment was returned with an equal mark of respect.

In a very few days we effected our entrance into the China Seas, and pursued our course with a strong South West Monsoon, till the 22d of June, when the Bashee Islands

Islands were seen bearing East South East half East, distant nine leagues. But it was the 26th before we could come to an anchor at Grafton Isle, which we then did in a small and pleasant bay, in six fathoms of water, and about a quarter of a mile from the shore.

This bay is surrounded by high land, which is cultivated to the summits, and the plantations, &c. being divided into inclosures neatly fenced in, afford a very pleasing view. A large village was situated on a gentle eminence near the water; fine groves of trees were fancifully dispersed on the sides of the mountains, while a rapid rivulet glided through the valley; the whole forming a scene of uncommon beauty.—About four years before, the Spaniards had taken possession of these Isles, in the expectation of finding the bowels of them enriched with the precious metals. The governor and his garrison, &c. treated us with great civility, nor did they, in the least, interfere with our little trading communications with the natives,—who appear to be a most inoffensive race of people. We remained here four days, during which time we obtained
great

great plenty of hogs, goats, ducks, fowls, yams, and sweet potatoes, in return for unwrought iron.

On the 1st of July we took our leave of the Bashee Islands, and steered to the North East, a course along the Japan Isles, but without seeing any land. The charts lay down isles which we must have gone over, according to the situation in which they are placed. After passing the latitude of 25° North, we had one continual fog, which was oftentimes so thick, that it was impossible to see the length of the vessel. On the 1st of August, having laid to the preceding night, we judged that we were near land, and in the morning, at day-light, we got sight of it, through the Fog Banks, when we found it to consist of the Isles of Amluc and Atcha. We stood in for the former, and anchored there for two days, during which time we were visited both by the Russians and the natives. In our passage to Ounalaschka we were driven among five islands where dangers surrounded us on all sides, and without being able to see our way, but we providentially escaped them. It had, indeed, been one continued fog ever since

we crossed the latitude of 35° , and from that time we had not been able to make more than two observations. We very fortunately had a time piece on board, which proved of the greatest utility.

The five isles among which we had been so much embarrassed, are described in Coxe's Russian Discoveries by the names of Pat Sopka :—that writer also mentions the destruction which many of the Russian Navigators have found between these isles and Kamschatka. They are uninhabited, and seem to be nothing more than huge masses of entire rock. Two of them bear a strong resemblance to each other, and possess rather a correct form of a sugar loaf.

On the 5th of August, in the afternoon, we found ourselves surrounded by a great number of canoes ; which, from the dress and manners of the people in them, we were certain must belong to some of the isles, though we imagined ourselves to be too far to the Southward for them to come off. This little fleet was engaged in the business of whale fishing, and after stopping a short time to examine the vessel, which they did with every appearance of
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extreme admiration, they left us and paddled off to the Northward. We now steered a little more to the Southward, as we supposed that the current had set us to the Northward of our reckoning. The fog continued to be so very thick, that it was impossible to see any object at twenty yards distance from the ship;—but from the number of canoes we had passed, there was every reason to suppose we were in the neighbourhood of land, which must, in all probability, have been the island of Amouchta.

The following night we were alarmed by hearing the surge of the sea upon the shore;—we instantly tacked, and when we had stood on about two hours, we were re-alarmed with the same noise. We tacked again and as soon as it was day-light, we caught a glimpse of the land, over the mast-head, which appeared to be covered with snow. But the fog again became impervious to our sight, as it were, to encrease the horrid suspense of our situation. During four days of gloom in our minds, as well as in the air, we were continually endeavouring, but in vain, to obtain a passage,
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for every way appeared to be blocked up against us. The hoarse dashing of the surge drove us from one side, in order to be re-impelled by the same alarming warnings on the other. We had, indeed, every reason to believe that we had passed by some narrow inlet into a gulph surrounded with fatal shores, and from which there was no return but by the channel through which we entered. Though we were frequently within an hundred yards of the rocks, soundings were impracticable, and the steepness of the shore rendered our anchors of no use.

On the 5th in the morning, the fog cleared away, and gave us a most awful prospect of dangers which our happy experience was scarce sufficient to convince us that it was possible to have escaped. We now saw ourselves surrounded with land of a tremendous height, which was covered two-thirds down its sides with snow; while the coast was inaccessible from the lofty, perpendicular rocks which formed a regular wall, except where the violent beating of the sea had made those excavations which, with the rise and fall of a prodigious swell, occasioned the warning noise that proved
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our preservation. We now saw two open channels, one to the Southward, through which we had been driven, and another to the North West. Indeed if we steered at all to that point, we should at once have got clear of our alarming situation: but we had been all along apprehensive of getting to the Northward of these isles, being aware of the difficulty of getting again to the Southward, the currents being well known to take a Northerly direction in the summer; and then we might have been detained an uncertain length of time, till a strong Northerly wind arose to drive us back—the South Westerly winds being the most generally prevalent in these seas at this period of the year. Finding it, however, impossible to go to the Southward, by the channel through which we came, on account of the strength of the current, we bore up, and went to the Northward, and having got as far to the Eastward as Ounalashka, we were so fortunate as to meet with a strong North wind, which enabled us to get through between Unamah and Onalashka. In these straits the current could not run less than seven knots an hour

hour, which caused a most tremendous sea.

When we got round to the South side of the island, a Russian came off to us and piloted our ship into an harbour adjacent to that in which Captain Cook refitted.

The Russians on these isles, came from Ochotsk and Kamschatka in galleots of about 50 tons burthen, having from sixty to eighty men each. They heave their vessels up in some convenient place, during their station here, which is for eight years; at the end of which time they are relieved by another party. They hunt the sea-otters and other animals whom nature has cloathed in furs. The natives of the different districts are also employed in the same occupations, and are obliged to give the fruits of their toil, as a tribute to the Empress of Russia, to whom this trade exclusively belongs.— In return, they receive small quantities of snuff, of which they are immoderately fond; and, obtaining that favourite article, they are content with their wretched condition, from whence, as far as respects any exertion of their own, they will never emerge.— As to iron, or any other European commodity,

dity, it is as scarce with them, as with their continental neighbours.

The houses of the Russians are constructed upon the same principles as those of the natives, but on a plan of larger extent.—They consist of cavities dug in the earth, and a stranger might be in danger of falling into them, without having the least suspicion that he was within the verge of any habitation; as the only entrance into these subterraneous places of residence, is through a round hole at the top of them, and by a post with steps cut in it, as the means of descent. Indeed, such an accident happened, on the first evening of our landing, to the first officer and surgeon of the Nootka.—On their return from a Russian village, they suddenly disappeared through one of these holes, and intruded themselves, in a very unexpected manner, to an household of the natives. The fright on the occasion was mutual;—the one hurrying out of the place as fast as their fears could carry them, leaving the fallen gentlemen, in expectation that the invaded people, with whose mild and amiable manners they were not then acquainted, would instantly give the alarm,

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and call their friends to revenge the innocent invasion by murder and massacre.— They found, however, on their return above ground, that the natives had fled in extreme confusion and affright to the Russian village. The next morning, the accident was explained; and a small present of tobacco made the poor people ample recompence for the alarm of the preceding evening.

The sides of these dwellings are divided into compartments for the purpose of sleeping, the skins of animals serving them for their beds; and in the centre is the place for dressing and eating their victuals. In the very cold weather, they use lamps instead of wood:—as there are no trees on the islands, wood must be a very scarce article, having no other supply, but the accidental drifts of it from the continent. Their diet consists entirely of fish with the oil of the same for sauce. This manner of living is common both to the Russians and the natives, except that the former boil their food, and the latter eat it in a raw state. We have frequently seen them eat, or rather devour, the head of a cod or a halibut, immediately after it was caught, with all
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the signs of voracious satisfaction. The only vegetable these islands produce is wild celery, which the natives eat as it is pulled out of the ground.

Though the Russians have been so long settled on these islands, they have produced no kind of cultivation whatever. They have not any of the domestic fowl, or animals, except dogs;—nor had we an opportunity to examine whether this want of comforts and conveniencies, which are of such easy attainment, arose from local barrenness, or their own indolence. Their sole dependance for food, is on the produce of the sea and the rivers, which, however, afford them great abundance of excellent fish; and, if a proper judgment may be formed from the strong and healthy appearance of the natives, or the colonists, they do not want a more wholesome or strengthening sustenance.

The natives of these isles, which are known by the appellation of the Fox Islands, are a short and stout race of people, with full round countenances, that bear no traces of a savage disposition.—They do not cut, scarrify, or in any manner disfigure their faces,

faces, like the natives of the continent; and are, to all appearance, of an harmless and inoffensive character. Jealousy, at least, is not among their ordinary passions, as they discover no symptoms of displeasure at any attentions which strangers may be disposed to pay to the female part of their community.

The only animals on these islands are foxes, some of which are black, and whose skins are very valuable. While we lay here, we endeavoured to engage the Russians to trade with us; but they set too high a value on their furs to dispose of them to us, at least for any thing we had to give in return; more particularly as they expected to be relieved the following year. The harbour we entered is situated about ten or twelve miles from that where Captain Cook refitted, and lies in the latitude of $54^{\circ} 2'$ North; longitude, $193^{\circ} 25'$ East of Greenwich.

On the 20th day of August, we sailed from Ounalashka, in order to run down the continent, till we should pass the Shumagin Islands, as Captain Cook describes Kodiak one of the Southern. Indeed, we wished to be clear of the Russian settlements, as

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we knew nothing was to be got in the vicinity of them, before we went on the coast.

On the 27th of August, we arrived in sight of the Schumagins; and at about four leagues from the shore, a great number of canoes came off to us, which we observed to be of the same construction as those of the Fox Isles; and that the dress and manners of the people in them were the same as the natives of those islands.

It appears that the Russians, wherever they are settled, from some political reason, as we suppose, prohibit the natives from keeping canoes of a size to carry more than one person. These canoes are generally about twelve feet in length, sharp at each end, and about twenty inches broad, tapering to a point: their depth in the centre, where the man sits, is about twenty inches. The canoes of this make extend from the straits of the two continents along the coast as far as Cape Edgumbe. Some of them are made to carry three persons; but, in general, not more than one or two. The frame is composed of very thin strips of the pine wood, fastened together with whale sinews, and is then covered with the skin of

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the seal or sea-cow, which is previously robbed of its hair. The bottom of the skin-frock, which the natives wear, ties over the hole of the canoe, where the man sits, and prevents the smallest drop of water from getting in. These vessels are paddled at a prodigious rate, and go out in any weather.

It was now the 28th of August, and no advantage had yet arisen from the voyage; but as we supposed ourselves to be at the termination of the Russian settlements, and had a large track of coast to run down, we expected to have made an advantageous trade before the winter set in, which was now hastily approaching. With this design, we purposed to make one port to the Westward of Cook's River,—and, in coasting along, we saw a large opening, which appeared to be formed by an island: we accordingly steered in for it,—and, when we were in with it, it appeared of very great extent, taking a North Easterly course. As we now thought ourselves clear of the Russians, we were in continual expectation of being visited by the natives, and commencing the advantageous part of our voyage; though we are at a loss how to reconcile it, that so large a strait should

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should not have been observed by Captain Cook. Having continued our course up it, about twenty leagues, a canoe came off to us from the inland side, with three people in it, one of whom came on board, who proved to be a Russian seaman.—He was a very intelligent man, and informed us that this was the island of Kodiak; that the crews of three galliots were on duty there, and that there was another island of the same name along the coast.

This intelligence was by no means pleasing, as it dashed at once all our hopes of obtaining any trade, at any intermediate place, between Cook's River and the Schumagin Isles. We therefore continued our passage through the straits, which were named Petrie's Strait, in honour of Wm. Petrie, Esq. and found it brought us out near that point forming Cook's River, and distinguished by the name of Cape Douglas on Captain Cook's charts. These straits are upwards of ten leagues in length and about fifteen in breadth, and cut off a very large tract of continent from the former charts. We anchored under Cape Douglas, and soon after several canoes came off to us of the River Indians. They

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fold us two or three otter skins, for which they received some pieces of unwrought iron, about a pound; perhaps, for each skin. They appeared to be greatly rejoiced to see us, and offered us every thing they had in their boats as presents. These people by refusing tobacco plainly proved that they had no connection with the Russians, and by frequently pronouncing the word English, English, it appeared also that the Nootka was not the first vessel of our country which had been seen by them.—Indeed it afterwards appeared that the King George and Queen Charlotte from London had been there before us. The canoes very shortly left us to go up the river in search of more skins, and the following day we saw two large boats coming down the river, with about eighteen men in each. They proved to be Russians who had been up Cook's River on a trading voyage; and each boat had a brass field-piece with small arms for each man. They had left their summer residence which is the lower island in Cook's River, and were proceeding to their winter quarters on the island of Kodiak.

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It was now the 20th of September, and the weather extremely boisterous, so that we determined to quit the river, where we had been detained by several heavy gales of wind, and proceed to Prince William's Sound, and, if practicable, to winter there. On our arrival at Snug Corner Cove, in Prince William's Sound, as named by Captain Cook, the weather was very violent, and during the three days we lay there not a native appeared; which circumstance led us to conclude, that the natives had retired from the coast, or were gone to the Southward for the winter. In our excursions on shore, we saw some wood which had been fresh cut, and by an edge tool; we also found a piece of bamboo, which fully satisfied us that some vessel must have very lately preceded us; and as our appointed rendezvous, with our consort the Sea Otter, was at this place, we very naturally concluded that she had been here, and was sailed for China.

This was a situation pregnant with difficulties:—the coast was to all appearance without inhabitants, so that if we remained here during the winter, there was no prospect of our being able to procure trade or re

freshments. On the other hand, the bad weather had set in, with continual gales of wind, accompanied with sleet and snow; and if we quitted our present situation, it was very doubtful whether we should be able to make another, and therefore be obliged to run for the Sandwich Isles, which would, in all probability, have put an end to the voyage, as our seamen were becoming extremely dissatisfied. In this situation it was determined to prefer an inhospitable winter in Prince William's Sound, to all the comforts of the Sandwich Islands, from whence, it was with good reason imagined, that it would have been a matter of great difficulty, if not wholly impracticable, to persuade the seamen to return to the Coast of America. Under these difficulties we laboured; but as the object of the voyage and the interest of the proprietors were deeply concerned in supporting the hardships which threatened us, and the mortifications we should experience, we resolved to bear the one and to submit to the other. A very little reflection on the limited power of a mercantile officer, and the want of a due subordination in a mercantile ship,

ship, will enable any one to believe that in remaining here, we were not at least deficient in zeal for the interests of those who promoted and supported this commercial expedition.

On the 4th day, several canoes, came off to us, and the natives behaved in a very friendly and affable manner. They mentioned several English names, which appeared to be those of the crew of the *Sea Otter*.—They also made us understand that a vessel, with two masts, had sailed from thence but a few days before, and that they had plenty of skins, which they explained to us, by pointing to the number of the hairs of their heads. They also informed us, after their manner, that if we would stay, they would kill plenty of otters for us during the winter.

Being now satisfied that the Sound was inhabited, nothing but a good harbour was wanting to determine us to stay here during the severe season; and the next day the boats found a very commodious one, about fifteen miles East North East, from where we lay. Accordingly, on the 7th of October, the vessel was removed to the place appointed;

pointed; she was then unrigged, and the people began to work on shore to erect a log-house for the armourers to work in; which, from the present state of the vessel, might also be useful in containing lumber.

The natives now favoured us with their daily visits, and never failed to exert their very extraordinary talents in the art of thievery. They would employ such a slight of hand in getting iron materials of any kind, as is hardly to be conceived. It has often been observed, when the head of a nail either in the ship or boats stood a little without the wood, that they would apply their teeth in order to pull it out. Indeed, if the different losses we sustained, and the manner of them were to be related, many a reader would have reason to suspect that this page exalted the purloining talents of these people, at the expence of truth.

It was now the middle of October, and we had collected a few skins. The natives also assembled in greater numbers, and became so very troublesome as to perplex us very much, in regard to the manner in which we should conduct ourselves towards them.— Policy and humanity both instructed us to avoid,

avoid, if possible, any violent correctives, but it very often happened, that our people who were employed on shore in wooding and erecting the house, were obliged to come off to the ship, as the natives would come down from the woods behind them, and endeavour to take away whatever tools they had in use.—As the vessel lay so near the place where the people were at work, that we could talk to them, we did not allow them fire-arms, unless they were accompanied with a careful officer, lest an improper use should be made of them; and we had hitherto found, that the firing a musquet from the ship would at all times drive the natives away.

On the 25th of October, a large party of Indians were perceived coming into the creek, and as there appeared to be a greater number than we had seen assembled before, we called to our people to come on board, and they not coming immediately, the Indians got up a-breast of the vessel, and immediately landed where they were at work:—at the same moment another party joined them from the woods.—As the natives in the canoes went on shore in spite of all our signals

signals to prohibit them, two of our guns were ordered to be pointed at them, which had the desired effect ; as they were at this time endeavouring to take away the axes from our people on shore. But on perceiving the preparations we were making, they cried out in their usual manner, *laulè-laulé*, or friend, friend, and extended wide their arms as a token of amity.

Having got all our people on board, it was thought to be a proper opportunity to discipline the natives, who were now assembled in such considerable numbers, by shewing them the power of our cannon, and accordingly a twelve pound *cannonade* was fired with grape shot, which displayed its effects upon the water to their extreme astonishment, and indeed threw them into such a panic, that one half of them overset their canoes from fright.—A three pound field piece was then discharged from the shore, with a round shot, which grazing along the surface of the water to a considerable distance, convinced them that it was in our power to throw the shot to whatever point, and in whatever direction we thought proper. While they were deliberating, as it were,

were, in a state of no common apprehension, we made them understand that it was not our intention to do them any injury while they conducted themselves to us in an honest and friendly manner, and that it was our wish to engage in trade with them, by purchasing their skins with such articles as we had got for that purpose. These articles were then offered to their attention, when, after repeated shouts of joy, such as were dressed in furs, instantly stripped themselves, and in return for a moderate quantity of large spike nails, we received sixty fine sea-otter skins. To conciliate their friendship, the principal men among them were presented with beads of various colours, and they promised to bring us skins as fast as they could procure them.

This attempt was certainly pre-meditated, as these people never make war upon each other in those large boats, which they employ solely to carry away their old men, women and children, on the approach of an enemy; and they are called by them the womens' boats. They now made use of them for the purpose of landing a great number at once, that they might be certain

tain of cutting off the retreat of our workmen. But though this scheme proved abortive, we had no reason to suppose that they would, or perhaps could resist an opportunity of stealing any article, of which iron composed a part, so powerful was the temptation that assumed the form of that favourite metal.

Such, however, was the present appearance of our affairs, that we desisted from carrying on our operations on shore. We therefore began to cover the vessel with spars, and close it in all round the sides, which we got done above one half from aft, forward; but the falls of snow became so frequent, and deep on the shore, that we were prevented from completing it, which was a very great inconvenience; as the part that was covered always afforded a place to walk in, as well as prevented a great deal of cold from striking through the deck. It also formed a very sufficient fortification had that been necessary;—as we were boarded and netted all round, ten feet above the gun whale so that we should have been able to have defended ourselves against any attack that could have been made upon us; tho'

the ice, which was forming all round us, gave the natives no inconsiderable advantage: but, whatever might be the inclinations of our savage neighbours, the operations of our great guns had frightened them into the most amicable demeanour towards us.

On the 31st day of October the thermometer fell to 32, and the mornings and evenings were very sharp. Till this period, we had caught a great plenty of salmon, but we now found they were leaving the small rivers. At two hauls of the seine in a pond, between the neighbouring hills, we caught as many as we could salt for the winter use; and, for our daily consumption, two men were dispatched every morning, and in two hours they would bring down as many as they could carry. The method of taking them may appear rather ridiculous, but it is managed by following the drain of water from the pond, to where it emptied itself into the sea, and knocking the fish on the head with clubs, as they were going up or coming down; and as the channel was not above a foot in depth, this business proved good sport to the sailors, as well as a source of luxurious provision for the table.

table. The days of plenty were however drawing nigh to a conclusion. The ducks and geese which had also afforded us a constant supply, were now forming into flocks and passing away to the Southward.—The natives had also brought us occasionally some of the mountain sheep which were the only land animals we saw amongst them, and we had depended for some assistance at least from them on the article of provision during the winter ;—instead of which, by the 5th of November, not one of the feathered tribe was to be seen, nor was it possible to go into the woods, the ground being, at this time, covered with at least five feet of loose dry snow.—The fish had also left the creeks and coves, and ice began to form every where around us.—The stupendous mountains which met our eye on every side, were now white with snow to the very edge of the water, while the natives had no other means of support but the whale fish and blubber which they had prepared for their winter provisions.—But since the 2d of November, the ice, from the vessel to the shore, had been capable of bearing, and our people had commenced the amusement of skating
and

and other diversions on it, which not only afforded them considerable recreation, but contributed greatly to the preservation of their health, till the snow became as deep on the ice as it was on the shore.

During the months of November and December we all enjoyed an excellent state of health.—The natives also continued their friendly behaviour to us, except in their incorrigible disposition to stealing, which they never failed to indulge when any opportunity offered, and which the most attentive vigilance on our part could not always prevent. The thermometer, during the month of November, was from 26° to 28° , and in December it fell to 20° , where it continued the greatest part of the month.

We had now at noon but a very faint and glimmering light, the meridian sun not being higher than 6° , and that obscured from us by hills 22° high to the Southward of us. While we were thus locked in, as it were, from the chearful light of day, and the vivifying warmth of solar rays,—no other comforts presented themselves to compensate, in any degree, for the scene of desolation which encircled us.—

While

While tremendous mountains forbade almost a sight of the sky, and cast their nocturnal shadows over us in the midst of day, the land was impenetrable from the depth of snow, so that we were excluded from all hopes of any recreation, support, or comfort, during the winter, but what could be found in the ship and in ourselves.—This, however, was only the beginning of our troubles.

The new year set in with added cold, and was succeeded by some very heavy falls of snow, which lasted till the middle of the month. Our decks were now incapable of resisting the intense freezing of the night, and the lower parts of them were covered an inch thick with an hoary frost, that had all the appearance of snow, notwithstanding three fires were kept constantly burning twenty hours out of the twenty-four; so that when they were first lighted the decks were all afloat. For some time we kept in the fires night and day, but the smoke which proceeded from a temporary stove, made out of one of the forges, was so very troublesome, that the people, who were now falling ill, were fully convinced that this continual smoke was the cause of their sickness.

sickness. After the heavy fall of snow we had twelve down with the scurvy, and towards the end of the month four died, and the number encreased to twenty-three who were confined to their beds, amongst whom was the surgeon, who was extremely ill. The first officer, on finding himself slightly affected in the breast, a symptom which generally foreboded a fatal determination in a very few days, got rid of it by continually chewing the young pine branches, and swallowing the juice; but, from the unpleasant taste of this medicine, few of the sick could be prevailed upon to persist in taking it.

At the latter end of February the disorder had encreased, and no less than thirty of our people were so ill, that none of them had sufficient strength to get out of their hammocks:—four of them died in the course of the month.—Indeed, at this time, our necessaries were so far exhausted, that if the more violent symptoms of the disorder had abated, there was a want of proper food &c. to complete the cure. These melancholy circumstances were rendered more afflicting by the hopeless minds of the crew; for

such was the general discouragement among them, that they considered the slightest symptom of the disorder to be a certain prelude to death.

During the months of January and February, the thermometer continued for the greater part at 15° , though it sometimes fell to 14° . Notwithstanding this extreme cold, we were visited as usual by the natives, who had no other cloathing but their frocks, made of the skins of sea-otters and seals, though chiefly of the latter, with the fur on the outside.—But whatever protection these dresses gave to their bodies, their legs remained uncovered, and without any apparent inconvenience. They appeared to be as much distressed for provisions as ourselves, and as we had several casks of the whale blubber which had been collected for oil, they used, whenever they came on board, under a pretence that the weather was too boisterous for them to engage in whale hunting, to entreat a regale of this luxurious article; which was always granted to their great comfort and satisfaction.—In their opinion it was owing to our not taking the same delicious and wholesome nourishment, that such a
terrible

terrible and alarming sickness prevailed amongst us.

We were at first very much surprised at their being informed of the death of our people, and the places where we had buried them.—They particularly pointed to the edge of the shore between the cracks of the ice, where with considerable labour we had contrived to dig a shallow grave for our boatswain, who, from his piping, had attracted their particular notice and respect.—We indeed at first imagined that they contrived to watch these melancholy ceremonies in order to dig up the bodies for a banquet, as we had no doubt but that they were a cannibal tribe. We however soon after discovered that they obtained their intelligence from the constant watch they kept, to prevent any other bands of natives from coming to trade with us, without giving them a share of their profits, whatever they might be.

As they paid us daily visits, we at first imagined that their place of habitation was at no very great distance, though we had never been able to discover it; but we now learnt that they were a vagrant people, with-

out any fixed place of abode, sleeping where they could, and when they had the inclination; and that they made no distinction between the night and the day, wandering about as much during the one as the other. They never made any fires in the night for fear of being surprised by those tribes with whom they seemed to be in a continual state of hostility, and who must have come across the ice to attack them; for as they had no knowledge of the use of snow shoes, the woods were wholly impassable.

The month of March brought no alleviation of our distresses:—It was as cold as the months which preceded it. In the early part of it there fell a great deal of snow, which increased the number of the sick, and the violence of the disorder in those who were already afflicted by it.—In the course of this month we had the melancholy office of performing the last imperfect obsequies to the remains of the surgeon and the pilot. These were heavy misfortunes, and the loss of the former, at a moment when medical knowledge was so necessary, must be considered by all who read this page, as a consummate affliction.

The

The first officer finding a return of his complaint, applied to the same means of relief which had before been so successful,—exercise and the juice of the pine tree.—He made a decoction of the latter which was extremely nauseous, and very difficult, tho' very much diluted, to keep on the stomach : it operated repeatedly as an emetic, before it became a progressive remedy :—and perhaps this very effect, by cleansing the stomach, aided the future salutary operations of this anti-scorbutic medicine. The second officer and one or two of the seamen persisting in the same regimen, found similar benefit, and were recovered from a very reduced state ; but it is one of the unfortunate symptoms of this melancholy disorder to be averse to motion, and to find pain, bordering on anguish, in attempting to use that exercise which is the predominant remedy.

Having lost our surgeon, we were now deprived of all medical aid.—Every advantage the sick could receive from the most tender and vigilant attention, they received from myself, the first officer and a seaman, who were yet in a state to do them that service. But still we continued to see and la-

ment a gradual diminution of our crew from this terrible disorder. Too often did I find myself called to assist in performing the dreadful office, of dragging the dead bodies across the ice, to a shallow sepulchre which our own hands had hewn out for them on the shore. The sledge on which we fetched the wood was their hearse, and the chasms in the ice their grave:—But these imperfect rites were attended with that sincerity of grief which does not always follow the gorgeous array of funeral pride to sepulchral domes. Indeed, the only happiness; or, to express myself with more accuracy, the only alleviation of our wretchedness, was when we could absent ourselves from the vessel, and get away from hearing the groans of our afflicted people, in order to find relief in a solitary review of our forlorn situation. All our cordial provisions had long been exhausted;—we had nothing to strengthen and support the sick but biscuit, rice, and a small quantity of flour, but no kind of sugar or wine to give with them. Of salt beef and pork there was no deficiency; but, even if it had been a proper food, the aversion of the people to the very
fight

fight of it, would have prevented its salutary effects. Fish or fowl was not an offering of the winter here. A crow or a sea-gull were rare delicacies, and an eagle, one or two of which we killed, when they seemed to be hovering about, as if they would feed upon us, instead of furnishing us with food, was a feast indeed.—Our two goats, a male and female of the same age, and who had been our companions throughout the voyage, were at length reluctantly killed, and served the sick, with broth, &c. made of their flesh, for fourteen days.

Though we were at the latter end of March, there was, as yet, no change in the weather;—the cold still continued its inhospitable severity:—we now, however, began to derive some hopes from seeing the sun, which had been so long obscured from us, just peep at noon over the summits of the mountains. The thermometer had, during this month, been for the most part at 15° and 16° , though it had sometimes risen to 17° .

The early part of the month of April was very frosty, with violent winds. Towards the middle of it, we had some very heavy Southerly gales, which produce the sum-

mer in these high latitudes, as the Northerly ones prevail throughout the winter. The change of wind produced, as may be supposed, a sensible alteration in the air; but it brought heavy showers of snow, and did not become stationary; so that with the return of the North wind, it became as cold as ever. In short, during the latter part of this month there was a continual combat of these opposing winds, which were the more disagreeable, as it occasioned thick and hazy weather. While the South wind prevailed, the sick people grew worse, and in the course of this month, four Europeans and three Lascars died. The second officer and the seaman who entered upon the pine juice regimen, were now so far recovered as to get upon deck to receive the short but welcome visit of the sun. This circumstance induced many of the sick men to apply to the decoction, and some of them were persuaded to continue it; but, in general, it was neglected, with a determination to die at their ease, (according to their manner of expression) rather than be tormented by such a nauseous and torturing remedy.

Towards

Towards the end of the month, in the mid-day sun, the thermometer raised to 32° , but at night it fell below the freezing point to 27° . During the last three days in this month, the natives brought us some her- ring and sea-fowl. The fish, I myself distributed to the sick, and no words can express the eager joy which animated their haggard countenances on receiving such a comfortable and refreshing meal:—and every encouragement was, of course, given to the natives to procure a constant supply of this strengthening food.

These people now began to console us with an assurance that the cold would soon be gone. They had, indeed, always made us understand, that the summer would commence about the middle of May, by counting the number of moons. The sun now began to make a large circle over the hills, and at mid-day it was exceedingly reviving. The supplies of fish were also frequent, and we began to feel hopes, that the remaining part of us would get out of this desolate abode, and return again to our country. These circumstances gave such a turn to the spirits of the people, that many of them
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consented to be brought upon deck to feel the rays of the sun, who fainted when they approached the air. It is very singular that many of them who preserved astonishing spirits, and would say or do any thing, who appeared in short, as if they were free from all disorder, while they were in bed, would from the most trifling motion, or only touching the side of their hammocks, be thrown into such agonizing pains, and successive faintings, that every moment might be supposed to be their last. In this state they would remain for near half an hour, before they recovered.

By the 6th of May, there was an astonishing change in every thing around us; the seamen who had not been very much reduced, recovered miraculously, from drinking the decoction. We had now as much fish as we could eat, with a great variety of sea-fowl, with which the natives daily provided us.—We had also seen several flights of geese and ducks pass over us, but none had as yet come within our reach.

On the 17th, a company of the natives, with the King of the Sound, named Shenoway, came on board with great form, to

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congratulate us on the return of summer. They also informed us that they had seen two vessels at sea, an article of intelligence which we scarce knew how to believe, though it was confirmed by the similar and subsequent information of others of the natives; but, on the 19th, this doubtful account was verified by the arrival of two canoes conducting a boat, in which was Captain Dixon of the *Queen Charlotte* from London, which, with her consort the *King George*, Captain Portlock, he had left at Montagu Isle, to come in quest of us, on the information of the Indians.

If all the circumstances are considered,—this must be mentioned as a most extraordinary meeting; and when the horrid situation of the *Nootka* and her crew is called into reflection, their sickness and their sorrow,—their desolate situation so long continued,—and the chilling apprehensions that, from the state of the crew and the state of the ship, even when the weather relaxed, and the season became favourable, they might not possess the means of quitting it;—when all these items of misfortune are brought to one aggregate of evil, it is not a matter of

surprise that Captain Dixon should be welcomed as a guardian angel with tears of joy. Nor shall I deny that we received considerable assistance and service from Captain Portlock, whose ambassador he was.—And here I should have concluded this part of my subject; but as the latter gentleman in the account of his voyage, has thought proper to represent himself as possessing the virtues of a Samaritan, and that he exercised them all upon me, I have thought proper to state the history of his conduct with all the necessary vouchers, that the public may be in possession of the truth, and be enabled to judge of the extent of the obligations I owe to the justice, the liberality, and the humanity of Captain Portlock*.

By

* In May, 1787, Captain A. Portlock arrived in the King George in an harbour in Prince William's Sound; as did the Queen Charlotte, Captain Dixon, who was dispatched with the boats on a trading trip, and arrived in Snug Corner Cove, with the long-boat of the King George and two whale boats. They were informed by the natives, that a vessel was at anchor near them, which they understood to be the Nootka, Captain Meares. On this intelligence, Captain Dixon was conducted by the natives, and arrived on board the Nootka late in the evening.

When our mutual surprise was in some measure abated, Captain Dixon was informed by me of my condition, and the misfortunes which we had encountered. To which he replied, that it only lay in Captain Portlock's power to lend us the assistance he saw we so much wanted, and that he proposed to depart very early in the morning to the ships, which were distant near 20 leagues: he also added

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By the 12th of May, the meridian sun became very powerful, and the Southerly winds being set in, the air was soft and pleasant. The thermometer during the day and in the shade stood at 40°, though at night it fell to the freezing point, and spread a thin ice over what had thawed in the day. The main body of ice, however, by which we were surrounded, began to loosen from the shore, where it was broken by the tide, which rises and falls eighteen feet, while the drain of the thaw in the country drove the pieces of ice out to sea. The vessel now swung to her anchors, the ice having thawed from around her:—Our sick were recovering very fast, though two of them baffled the return of the sun, and, in spite of our utmost

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added he was certain that Captain Portlock would put to sea immediately on his hearing this intelligence of us.

I made Captain Dixon sensible of our situation, and that I had no boat capable of proceeding down to the ships; I therefore requested to know if he would give me a passage, in order that I might lay before Captain Portlock the history of our distresses; but Captain Dixon very honestly informed me, that though he would most assuredly accommodate me with a passage, yet he did not think that Captain Portlock would send up a boat in return. I then considered, that, if I went down, and the ships should nevertheless fail, leaving me to get back as I could, I should be in a state of the most accumulated misfortune;—and, though my going down would have been some tie on Captain Portlock to send me back to my ship in one of his boats, yet the distance between us being so great, it would take up some days of his time, which might be to

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attentions, added to the number of those whom fate had ordained to take their last sleep on this horrid shore.—The face of the country, however, was still covered with snow, and no vegetable production was yet attainable but the pine tops; that the sternness of winter had deigned to spare us, and which proved an efficacious remedy to those who persisted in the use of them.

On

the detriment of his voyage: I therefore, on this consideration, waved going, and instantly wrote to Captain Portlock by Captain Dixon. (No. I.)

A few hours after the departure of Captain Dixon, it occurred to me, that if we could possibly launch the long-boat, and proceed to the ship, it might be the means of securing some assistance previous to their departure.

The hull of the boat, indeed, was deplorable,—for when we launched her it was with difficulty that we could keep her afloat; nevertheless, I embarked in her (accompanied by the first officer and five men) the same evening. I took with me two casks of rum, and several bags of rice, to exchange for some gin, and a little sugar and cheese; all which, Captain Dixon informed me, they had in abundance.

Fortunately we had fine weather; and arrived at the ship about three o'clock the following evening, just before the commencement of a gale of wind. When we got along-side the King George, the boat was half full of water; and the carpenter could not avoid expressing his astonishment, that we had ventured such a distance in her.

Captain Portlock received us with great politeness; and we found that Captain Dixon had arrived but a few hours before us. As soon as we had refreshed ourselves, I explained to Captain Portlock the nature of my errand,—which he heard, and said he would consult Captain Dixon on the subject. I then proceeded, to give him, without reserve, such information relative to the various expeditions on the coast, their views, the probable time of their arrivals, &c. &c. which must have been invaluable to him, from his utter ignorance of any other ships. I gave him this information from
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On the 17th of May, a general dissolution took place throughout the Cove, and when we once again found ourselves in clear water, the hopes of leaving this scene of so much distress and horror, cheered our languid minds with inexpressible comfort.

The number of natives which we saw, did not exceed five or six hundred.—They are a strong, raw-boned race of people, and in

pure commiseration for the hitherto unfortunate events of his voyage, and to guide him in his future proceedings:—In short, I communicated every thing in my power.

In a little time Captain Portlock, in the presence of Captain Dixon, informed me, that it was entirely out of his power to assist me with men:—this they did, I fancy, to enhance the value of the favour; for on my pressing that part of my request with great earnestness, and urging that common humanity obliged them, and what they would expect were they in my situation, they consented to give me two men, one from each vessel; but required a fresh representation by letter, which I wrote them, (No. II.) Two seamen were then called in, and, I suppose out of delicacy, the Captains left the cabin. These men informed me, that they would go with me on the terms of Four Pounds per month, and one Otter-skin each. It appeared to be needless to argue with them,—I was at their mercy, and therefore closed the agreement, except the demand of the otter-skin, without much hesitation, though they had but Thirty Shillings per month on board the European ships. I indeed thought, that Captain Portlock might have interfered, in some degree, to regulate this matter more to my advantage. The agreement was immediately made in writing, duly signed and sealed, between myself and these seamen; and *Captain Portlock was a subscribing Witness.*

In return for the two casks of rum, of 50 gallons each, and 12 bags of rice of about 500lb. I received 6 gallons of brandy, 11 of gin, two casks of flour, of 20 gallons each, 10 gallons of melasses, and six loaves of English sugar.

The same evening, at my request, Captain Portlock ordered his carpenter to caulk my long-boat's bottom, so that she was rendered fit for my return.

During

in size rather exceeding the common stature of Europeans. They have no town, village, or fixed place of abode, but are continually wandering up and down the Sound, as fancy leads or necessity impels them, considering the whole of that territory as subject to them, and suffering no other tribe to enter whom they have strength sufficient to keep out, without paying them a tribute for

During those acts of mutual civility, I really thought myself much indebted to Captain Portlock; and in return offered him such articles as I could spare; such as rum, rice, and a new cable of 13 inches (Europe;) but he declined receiving any of these, not being in want of them. In the evening of this day I bid him adieu; and arrived safe on board the Nootka with the two seamen.

A few days afterwards, I was surprised to see Captain Portlock's two boats enter the Cove: they brought me the following letter from that gentleman.

CAPE HICHINBROKE, ON BOARD THE KING GEORGE,
May 19th, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

I HOPE by the time you receive this you will be clear of the ice, the remains of your crew on the recovering hand, and your vessel in a state of quitting the Sound, which I think cannot be done too soon, as on quitting the coast, by a short run you may be amongst the Sandwich Islands, where every refreshment may be had for putting your ship's company in a proper state for proceeding towards China; where, at a proper season, hope to see you in good health.

I think it was on the second day after you left us that we failed from Port Rose, Montague Island; and, after rounding the East end of the said island, stretched over for this place, where I lay much exposed; but, at all events, mean to remain until the return of my long-boat from Cook's River, and the coast tending that way; to which place I dispatched her the day after you left us, and expect her in about one month.

Captain

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for that privilege. When, however, they are intruded upon by a more powerful nation, which sometimes happens, they retreat to certain rocks which are inaccessible but by a ladder that is drawn up after them, and even their canoes, which are of a very light construction, are hauled up with them.

They have a King whose name was Sheenoway; he was a very old man and almost blind.—

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Captain Dixon took his leave of me off the Cape, bound to the Southward towards King George's Sound, with directions to touch at every port he could make along the coast, and try what may be done on his way there: and as the weather since his departure hath been favourable, I hope he will make a good hand of it.

I remember before you left us to have heard you say, that you had an abundance of trade of every kind remaining: and now, my good friend, I think, in your present situation, that trade cannot, at least that it ought not, to be your object. I must beg that you would spare me a part of it. The articles I wish you to spare are beads of different kinds, particularly the small green and yellow sort, and of them as much as possible; iron unwrought, and your spare anvil; you may remember that I mentioned my want of pepper and a compass.

I hope to see you as you pass through the Sound: and remain, with esteem,

Your's sincerely,

NATHL^l PORTLOCK,

CAPT. JOHN MEARES, *Snow Nootka,*

Sutherland Cove, Prince William's Sound.

I wrote him by return of the boats, (No. III.) I hesitated not a moment in complying with the purport of his letter; and as I could not get at the articles of trade, they being stowed in the hold I sent what I had at hand, viz. the compass, some pepper, a few bags of rice, 400 or 500lb, each, and several other articles which

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Captain

INTRODUCTORY VOYAGE.

blind.—When he first visited us in the preceding autumn, he brought with him three women, whom he called his wives, and were accordingly treated with a suitable attention, being presented with such articles as appeared to be most agreeable to them; but they would not suffer the most distant familiarity from any of us. These and three or four others were the only women we saw amongst

I thought he wanted, though he did not pay by any means an adequate attention to my wants by his boats.

The Nootka in fourteen or fifteen days was ready for sea: we therefore sailed out of the Cove, where we had been so long imprisoned, and anchored the next evening in Port Etches, where the King George was also at anchor. I again met Captain Portlock with every civility.

A few days after my arrival, as we were conversing in a friendly manner on board his own ship, I was much surprised at his putting into my hand the following letter.

KING GEORGE, PORT ETCHES,
June 9th, 1787.

CAPTAIN MEARES,

AT the time I spared you Thomas Dixon and George Willis, to assist in navigating the Nootka to China, I had thoughts of quitting this Sound, and proceeding to other parts of the coasts; therefore your stay in the Sound, and carrying on a trade with the natives, could not, in any material degree, affect me. I therefore proposed to you no conditions respecting trade, in consideration of that assistance, which, if I had done, I am pretty certain you would very readily have complied with. Since that period, I have had good reason for adopting another plan, a part of which is to remain in the Sound, and purchase every skin, of every kind, that came in my way; and as your remaining in the Sound and trading must, of course, stop a considerable part of the trade that I might get, I find myself in duty bound, on account of my employers interests, to propose the following conditions,—
which, if you would wish to keep the assistance I have already lent,
you

amongst them.—We wished very much to get one of their boys to live with us, in order to obtain some knowledge of their language and manners; this proposition, however, they constantly refused: but on condition that we should leave one of our people with them. Indeed the King himself always hesitated to come on board, unless one of our seamen remained in the canoe during his visit.

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you will find it necessary to comply with. The Conditions are these, That you bind yourself in a Bond of five hundred pounds, "that no trade be carried on for skins of any kind by yourself, or any of your crew, during your stay in the Sound this season, and that you let me have twenty bars of iron, and some beads." On these, and only these Conditions, you keep what assistance I have already lent, and receive what other assistance I have in my power to afford you: at the same time I must assure you, that was I in your situation, I should not hesitate a moment in complying with the terms proposed. You have made a good purchase,—I have mine to make. You have more trade than you can possibly dispose of,—I have mine to make.

NATH^L. PORTLOCK.

A requisition so illiberal called forth all my astonishment; and it was with difficulty I could suppress the indignation I naturally felt, at the shameful advantage he proposed to take of my helpless situation. However, for what could I do? Impelled by cruel necessity, I agreed to these hard conditions, with a proviso, that he gave me his honour to let me have another man from him, and the probability of a boy; and as he informed me that he had a quantity of porter on board for the Japan market, and other articles, such as sugar, chocolate, &c. that he would let me have as much of those articles as I wanted, at the Canton price, as he did not mean to go to Japan;—all this he assured me that he would comply with:—in return, I pledged my honour not to trade, or permit my people;—the beads and iron were accordingly sent him. Before I finished my visit, he fixed the next day to send the man, perhaps the boy, and certainly the porter, which to us would have been

Some time in October, 1786, his Majesty brought us a young woman and offered her for sale; and she was accordingly bought for an axe and a small quantity of glass beads. We at first thought that she was one of his own women, but she soon made us understand that she was a captive, and had been taken with a party of her tribe, who had been killed and eaten, which was the general

been an invaluable acquisition, on account of our scorbutic habits of body, and having nothing but salted beef to exist on down to the islands, the very idea of which we nauseated.

The next day his carpenter came on board, who began to caulk the deck, and examine the pumps. Captain Portlock employed also some of his people to brew beer and cut wood for us.

Captain Portlock had done all this with so many professions that it was all for the good of his owners, and appeared so friendly to me, that I really was deceived by him.

His carpenter when caulking part of our deck had used about fifty pounds of oakum of his own, we having none of that article, or men to pick it;—to replace this, I sent on board several lengths of an old cable, about 11 fathoms, when one of Captain Portlock's people came on board with a message that he wanted 20 fathoms of cable more, to replace the oakum: surprised at this declaration, I sent my first officer on board, to explain to Captain Portlock that I really had no more junk or old cable in the ship, and that if he persisted in his demand, I must ruin a cable to comply with it, and that I thought what he had already received was a full equivalent. Soon after I received from Captain Portlock the following letter.

DEAR SIR,

I SHOULD be glad if you would send me the other eight bars of square iron to make up the number we had agreed on; if you have not square iron at hand, I must make flat iron do; but I believe you have sufficient of either sort, easily to be got at. One of the twelve bars that I have received, my armouret has used in lengthening your pump-spears, and fitting the boxes; therefore I may say the number received, instead of twenty, is only

general lot of all prisoners taken in war.— She alone had been preserved to wait upon the Royal ladies, who were now tired, or perhaps jealous of her services. She remained with us near four months, and appeared to be very contented with her condition. She had informed us that she belonged to a tribe who lived to the Southward, and it was our intention to have coasted it along the

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ensuing

only eleven. In consequence of what passed yesterday between us respecting the junk, I sent my boatswain on board, and expected he would have received about fifteen fathoms; he was offered five or six, which quantity he did not bring on board, as I had told him what I thought he would receive. You must consider the waste there is in picking oakum; besides the employment of my people, whose labour should, had it not been on your account, turned to the advantage of my own ship, in a trading expedition up the Sound; but, as it is, all hands must turn too for some days, and pick oakum, ready for my carpenter to begin caulking the ship immediately on finishing with you; therefore the loss of time I have sustained is of more consequence to my owners than I should suppose even fifty fathoms of junk would be to your's. — Dispatch this boat as quick as you can, and *the third man* is getting himself ready for you. — I hope you are well this morning, &c.

I am, dear Sir,

Your's sincerely,

N. PORTLOCK.

I then sent the cable, which contained twenty times the quantity I had received from him.

Captain Portlock also desired me to lend him six stands of arms, some brass muskets, and the anvil, until we met in China, which I immediately sent on board.

However, day after day he deferred sending the man, boy, or porter, or, indeed, fulfilling the remainder of his agreement; — and thus matters rested till we were ready for sea: — I then requested Mr. Hollings to go on board, and endeavour to make Captain Portlock

ensuing summer, in quest of furs, and restored her to her own people, had not the distresses which have been already related, prevented us from pursuing any design of that nature. With what truth we know not, but she always represented the natives of the Sound, as the most savage of any inhabitants of the Coast, and continually repeated, that it was the fear of our great guns

lock comply with his agreement; and save his honour; when, to my utter astonishment, Mr. Hollings returned with the following answer:—"That he would spare me 20 dozen of porter, and 10 gallons of gin, for a new European 13 inch cable; (which cost in Bengal near 200*l*.) that he could not spare the man, but would give me an old 9 inch hawser, of 80 fathoms." I naturally rejected this offer with indignation, the articles being by no means of equal value, and as he refused to fulfil his part of the agreement between us. I told him, however, in the presence of Mr. Hollings, that if he was in distress for a cable, I would spare him one, at the rate that the owners bought it, but on no other terms, as I had no orders to eat or drink away the property of the ship.

I then observed to him, that if he had no regard to his honour, yet it would appear but common humanity to spare us such articles as would tend to keep this destructive disorder under, until we should arrive at the Sandwich Islands. I represented, that it was against his own and owners interest to keep an article of this kind for the China market, when he had had an offer of the highest price ever given at Canton for articles of the like nature.

On no other terms could I procure the porter, and other little articles, but, as I have mentioned before, for the new cable, which I rejected; and in consequence of my refusal to comply with his exorbitant and dishonourable demands, Captain Portlock refused the two men and the boy, withdrew his carpenter, and in other private points was guilty of the most improper conduct. When he recalled his carpenter, this fellow declared to Captain Portlock, that our ship was not in a state of safety; her seams being open every where, and the pumps not finished. For what he had done, (*viz.*) caulking two seams fore and aft, Captain Portlock permitted him

guns alone, which prevented them from killing and devouring us.

During the intense frost in January and February, we were visited by some intermediate tribes, who lived in the neighbourhood of her people, by whom she sent invitations to them to come to us; to which we added presents of beads, as an encouragement to receive a visit from them; and

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within

him to charge sixty dollars, which I refused, and agreed with him for forty dollars, or ten pounds, which was paid him by Mr. Cox at Canton. Captain Portlock received the money.

On the 18th of June, I received another letter as follows:

KING GEORGE, PORT ETCHES, NEAR CAPE
HINCHINBROKE, PRINCE WILLIAM'S SOUND.

June 18, 1787.

CAPTAIN MEARES,

I HAVE had very recent, good reason to think that, after you have quitted this Sound, you mean to put into some ports on the coast of America, to carry on a trading scheme; now, Sir, you will recollect, that, in your representation to me of your distressed situation, the navigating your vessel from this to the Sandwich Islands, and from thence to China, in safety, was what you gave me to understand as your only wish.

If this is really your intention, as a man of honour you cannot refuse giving me a security that you will leave the coast immediately on your quitting this Sound, and pursuing that route.—In consequence of your letter I have granted you two of the best men from the King George, but you may be well assured it was not to enable you to trade along the coast.

Mr. Cresselman has the paper with him, which you cannot refuse to sign, provided you mean to proceed as you declared you intended to do.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient, humble Servant,

NATH^l. PORTLOCK.

You

iv. INTRODUCTORY VOYAGE.

within a few days of the time, when she mentioned her expectation of their arrival, some of them came in three single canoes, and brought a small quantity of skins. She earnestly requested permission to depart with them, but as we expected to derive some advantage from her information in the summer, her desire was not granted. While, however, our people were gone down to breakfast,

You will please to be speedy in your determination, that I may, in case you do not chuse to comply, in giving me the security I have asked, return you the articles I have received, and take my people on board again.

I need not comment on this transaction. I was obliged to submit; and I accordingly signed the Bond, of which I here give an exact copy:—

COPY OF THE BOND.

SHIP KING GEORGE, PORT ETCHES,
June 18th, 1787.

BE IT KNOWN UNTO ALL MEN, That the under-written mutual Agreement and Obligation was this day entered into and agreed upon between N. Portlock, commander of the King George, from England, on the one part, and John Meares, commander of the snow Nootka, from Bengal, on the other part, under the pains and forfeitures as under-mentioned:—

Whereas the above-mentioned John Meares, in wintering on the New Coast of America, unfortunately lost the greatest part of his ship's company, and was reduced to the greatest distress, not being able to navigate his vessel to China. In consequence of the distressed situation, as represented by the said John Meares to the said N. Portlock, commanding the King George, the said N. Portlock promised and agreed to assist the said John Meares, by lending him two able seamen to enable him to prosecute his voyage to China, ON CONDITION That the said John Meares shall, on his leaving Prince

breakfast, she contrived to get to the canoes, and we saw her no more. At the time the girl left us, the scurvy was not arrived to the cruel height which it afterwards attained.—Nevertheless she made us sensible that the same disorder prevailed in her nation, and that whenever the symptoms appeared, they removed to the Southward, where the climate was more genial, and where

Prince William's Sound, where he now is, immediately proceed to Canton, and not on any account whatsoever (except drove by necessity or accident) meet with, or continue to trade or barter with the natives of any part of the said coast, &c. for otter-skins, or any other furs, the produce of the said coasts, on pain of forfeiting the sum of 1000*l.* of good and lawful money of Great Britain, to the said N. Portlock, his heirs, executors, and assigns, for the use of the Proprietors of the said ship King George.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our hands the day and year above-mentioned.

As I had good reason to apprehend further demands from the illiberal and fordid spirit of Captain Portlock, I prepared immediately to put to sea; but, before I could effect my purpose, the same officer who had brought me the bond came on board once more, with a peremptory demand that the two men, whom I had received on my first interview with Captain Portlock, should be returned to the King George. On being informed that Captain Portlock determined to keep the bond, as well as the articles with which I may be said to have very dearly purchased these men, I refused to let them go;—when I was informed, that force would be employed to compel my submission to the demand he brought. My answer to this menace was, That as I had fulfilled every engagement on my part, I would insist on my right to the men; and that if Captain Portlock, whom I described in the most decided and unequivocal terms, should make any attempt on the ship, I was determined to repel force by force.—On this the officer departed; and in about half an hour returned, with a message from his Captain that

where plenty of fish was to be obtained, which never failed to prove the means of their recovery.

The natives of the Sound, of either sex, keep their hair rather short;—but of the same length before as behind: indeed their faces are generally so covered with it, that they are obliged to be continually separating it, in order to see before them.—The men have

that I might keep the men; but without accompanying it with any apology for his conduct.

When the vessel was under sail, Captain Portlock thought proper to send me a Sandwich Island cap and cloak as a present; which I returned.

Such was the conduct of Captain Portlock.—To observe upon it would unnecessarily lengthen an article, already too long. Every one is capable of determining upon the tenderness or the cruelty of this man's demeanour to me.—Whether it demands detestation or praise, is left to the judgment of those who read the pages which contain this faithful and unexaggerated account of it.

The Letters of Captain Portlock to me are copied from the originals in my possession; and, having inserted them, it may be expected that I should publish those which I wrote to him;—they are therefore added.

(No. I.)

TO CAPT. N. PORTLOCK,
Commanding the KING GEORGE.

SIR,

I MAKE no doubt, but that you will be surprised on the perusal of a letter from a brother officer in this distant part of the globe; and as Captain Dixon has been so good as to offer a conveyance of this to you, I could not omit the favourable moment that providentially offers itself.

Some few days ago, the natives informed me of the arrival of two ships in this Sound, which, this evening, we found to be fact, by the arrival of Captain Dixon on board the Nootka.

I had

have universally a slit in their underlip, between the projecting part of the lip and the chin, which is cut parallel with their mouths and has the appearance of another mouth. The boys have two, three, or four holes, where the slit is in the men, which is perhaps the distinctive mark of manhood. The women have the same apertures as the boys, with pieces of shell fixed in them resembling teeth.

Both

I had wrote a note a few days ago, which I intrusted to one of the natives, to deliver on board one of the ships, which he promised to do for a certain reward.

Before I proceed further, Sir, it will be necessary to give you some account of ourselves: Captain Dixon will give you a proper account of the size of the ship, and so forth.

I sailed from Bengal, in company with the *Sea Otter*, of 100 tons, my consort, commanded also by a lieutenant of the navy, whose name is Tipping, in the month of March 1786; the Government of Bengal being chiefly concerned in the expedition.—The *Sea Otter* returned to China in September, with the cargo of furs procured on the coast: I determined to winter; and accordingly chose the harbour where Captain Dixon found us.

My complement of men and officers were, four mates, gunner, purser, surgeon, boatswain, carpenter, forty men and boys, with a crew strong, able, and healthy. I thought myself safe and secure; but the calamities which we have suffered during a long, severe winter, destitute of all fresh provisions, will, I am sure, fill you with tender concern. To such a height did it arrive, that it was often the case, that myself and officers had alone to bury the dead, which we effected with infinite difficulty, from the rigid and impenetrable frosts.

We arrived here the 25th of September, and were completely froze in by the 1st of November. About Christmas the scurvy made its appearance amongst us, and raged with such fury, that it swept off the third and 4th officers, surgeon, boatswain, carpenter, cooper, and the greatest part of the crew. In short, no one on board was exempt from it, either more or less; and it is but three
week

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Both sexes have the septum of the nose perforated, in which they generally wear a large quill, or a piece of the bark of a tree. Their beards which, however, are common but in persons advanced in years, are on the upper lip, and about the extremity of the chin, which in the winter is generally frosted with icicles.—The younger part of them,

as weeks ago, that what few were left have been able to creep about. Such has been our distressed situation :—at present we have, independent of the officers, but five men before the mast capable of doing duty, and four sick, which compose the whole of our remaining numbers.

I have given you, Sir, but a short recital of our misfortunes ; and shall hope, if it is in your power, that you will afford us some relief.

I should myself have accompanied Captain Dixon, had I a boat afloat that could swim ; the only one I have is a long boat, which we are now endeavouring to repair, and she is on shore.

As I have particularly mentioned to Captain Dixon wherein you may be able to assist me ; in addition I can only say, that any favour will indeed be gratefully received.

I shall beg leave to mention, that could you possibly spare the men, I should agree to any terms in their favour, and faithfully return them on the ship's arrival at Canton.

I beg your acceptance of a few bags of rice, being indeed the only thing I have to present you with.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

11th of May, 1787.

J. MEARES.

(N^o. II.)

ON BOARD THE KING GEORGE, PORT ETCHES,
PRINCE WILLIAM'S SOUND, May 16th, 1787.

To CAPTAINS PORTLOCK and DIXON,

GENTLEMEN,

IN my letter of the 11th of this month, I represented to you the very distressed and deplorable state of my ship, which you are perfectly sensible is really the case, and have most kindly

as we imagine, pull it out as it appears.— They have high cheek bones, and round flat faces, with small black eyes and jetty hair. Their aspect is wild and savage, and their ears are full of holes, from which hang pendants of bone or shell. They use a red kind of paint, with which they besmear their necks and faces; but after the death of friends

kindly offered me such assistance as is in your power, respecting men to assist me in navigating the ship to China.

I must again beg leave to represent to you, that such is my situation, that, without the assistance of men, it will be nearly an impossible thing for me even to quit this Sound, much less to navigate the ship to China; such is the debility of my crew.

If therefore, Gentlemen, you will take this into consideration, and permit me to have a seamen or two from each of your ships, it may be the means of saving the lives of the wretched remains of my crew, by enabling me to conduct, with such assistance, the Nootka to Canton, where on your arrival, should Providence so order it as to send us there also, I will faithfully deliver them back to their respective ships; and do engage, on the part of the Proprietors, to stand to any damage that may ensue to you for giving us such timely and necessary assistance.

I do also engage, should not your ships arrive at Canton, to send those men to England, should they desire to go.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

J. MEARES,

Commander of the Snow Nootka.

(N^o. III.)

To CAPT. PORTLOCK,
Commanding the KING GEORGE, PORT ETCHES.

DEAR SIR,

I WAS this morning favoured, and agreeably surprized by the arrival of your boats, and the receipt of your friendly letter,

The

friends or relations, it is changed into black. Their hair is almost covered with the down of birds. Their cloathing consists of a single frock, made of the sea-otter skin, which hang down to their knees and leaves their legs bare. The dress they use in their canoes, is made of the guts of the whale, which covers their heads, and the lower part being tied round the hole in which they

The ice is completely dissolved, and the weather has been extremely fine, which has enabled us to put forward our preparations for sea; to bring which to a final conclusion, you may justly suppose our utmost efforts have been made.

I arrived safe at my ship the morning after I left you; and, as I had brought the strength of my crew with me, so in my absence nothing could be done to put her in forwardness.

Our chief employment since has been to entirely clear our main and after holds, and completely stow them for sea, with the view of leaving the coast; and in consequence of which all the beads and unwrought iron have been stowed in the ground tier.

But, my dear Sir, so far are we from being ready, that our utmost efforts have been able only to accomplish this; and I do suppose it will be ten days at least before we shall be ready to put to sea; for we have now the fore-hold to clear of many casks, more ballast to take in, and we have already received between twenty and thirty tons; our casks are to repair without having a cooper, and we have to complete our water, cut a large quantity of wood, and repair the sails, which are much eaten by rats; and finally to complete the rigging for sea; to perform this, we have, I think, your two men, and eight capable of doing duty; nor am I myself, or any of my officers idle, being employed in endeavouring to repair a miserable shattered cutter, and in performing various other necessary avocations. This being a true state of our situation, you will from thence judge whether it will not require even a little exertion to be ready in ten days.

We have a little patch of ground which is clear of snow; to this spot we send our invalids, who are employed in boiling decoction and oil, for present use and sea-store; they recover but slowly, though I per-

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they sit, prevents the water from getting into the canoe, and at the same time keeps them warm and dry. This indeed may be considered as their principal dress, as they pass the far greater part of their time in the canoes.

There are to be found here all the different kinds of firs which grow on the other side

I perceive that the returning spring hath been the chief instrument. I observe what you say relative to the arrangements which you have made for the purpose of trade; in it I wish you every success, and I beg leave to express my hopes that I shall meet you at the close of the season at Canton.

You may be assured that it gave me singular pleasure when I perused that part of your letter wherein you request that I will supply you with the articles of trade you mention, which I will most assuredly comply with the moment I join you, which I mean purposely to do, to supply every want you may have, and that is in my power to grant.

The beads and iron, as I have mentioned, being stowed in the ground tier, cannot be got at until I arrive with you, when you will lend me the necessary assistance to come at them; I have scarcely sufficient at hand to serve the purposes of keeping the ship supplied with the necessary refreshments which the natives bring at times to us.

The other articles I have put in the boats, they being at hand.

As I hope shortly to see you, I will only beg leave to add, that I am, with esteem,

Your's, very sincerely,

NOOTKA, *Sutherland-Cove, Prince William's Sound, May 22, 1787.*

J. MEARES.

(No. IV.)

CAPTAIN PORTLOCK,

I HAVE just received your letter with the bond or paper, from your mate.

I return you the paper, which is signed, but beg leave to remind you that I think you have used me extremely ill throughout the whole of this business, in retracting from your word, relative to the three men which I was to have had; one of my best men is
unable

By INTRODUCTORY VOYAGE.

side of America.—There is also snake root and ginseng, some of which the natives have always with them as a medicine, though we never could procure any quantity of it.

The woods are thick, and spread over about two-thirds of the ascent of the mountains, which terminate in huge masses of

unable to do his duty; nor do I suppose he will be able during the voyage: this, you must be sensible, renders it more necessary for you to act with that humanity becoming a British subject.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant,

June 18, 1787.

J. MEARES.

To HENRY COX, Esq. *Canton.*

SIR,

AT sight, please to pay Mr. ROBERT HORNE, carpenter of the *King George*, the sum of forty dollars, for work done on board the *Nootka*; which place to the account of, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

J. MEARES.

SNOW NOOTKA, *Port Etches, Prince William's Sound*, June 18th, 1787.

(N^o. V.)

SIR,

Mr. Creffelman has delivered to me some articles of the Sandwich Islands, as a present from you: As I am going there in person, I trust to be able to procure such matters as I may want of that nature; nevertheless I am much obliged to you, but beg leave to decline accepting any mark of your attention.

June 18, 1787.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

To CAPTAIN PORTLOCK.

J. MEARES.

Before I conclude this note I shall remark on the declaration of Captain Dixon, in the account of his voyage, "that the disorder which so severely afflicted my crew, arose from their uncontrolled application to spirituous liquors." In the first place, the assertion is not founded in fact; and, secondly, Captain Dixon's crew and himself being visited by a similar affliction, I have an equal right to retaliate the same accusation upon him.

of naked rock. The black pine, which grows in great plenty, is capable of making excellent spars. We saw also a few black currant bushes when we entered the Sound in September, but no other kind of fruit or any species of vegetable. At that time, indeed, the high grounds were covered with snow, and the lowlands were an entire swamp from the streams of melted snow which flowed from above.

The only animals we saw were bears, foxes, martens, mountain-sheep, and the ermine.—Of the latter we only killed two pair, which were of a different species.

Of geese there were a great quantity in the season, with various other fowls of the aquatic species; but except the crow and the eagle, we saw no birds that were natives of the woods.

The article which the natives esteem most is iron, and they would prefer such pieces as approached, in any degree, to the form of a spear.—Green glass beads are also much sought after, and at times those which were red and blue.—They were very fond of our woollen jackets, or any of the old cloaths belonging to the seamen.

They live entirely upon fish, but of all others, they prefer the whale; and as the

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oil

oil is with them the most delicate part of the fish, they naturally esteem those most which possess an oily quality.—They seldom dress their fish, but when they do, the fire is kindled by friction with some of the driest pine wood; and they have a kind of baskets made of a substance which holds water, into which a quantity of heated stones is put to make it boil; but it is not often that their food undergoes this unnecessary and troublesome operation. In the coldest period of the winter we never saw them employ their kitchen, which might, perhaps, arise from local circumstances, that increased the difficulty attending their culinary exertions.

They are certainly a very savage race of people, and possess an uncommon degree of insensibility to corporal pain.—Of this we had a very singular proof on the following occasion:—In the course of the winter, among other rubbish, several broken glass bottles had been thrown out of the ship, and one of the natives, who was searching among them to see what he could find, cut his foot in a very severe manner: on seeing it bleed, we pointed out what had caused the wound, and applied a dressing to it, which we made him understand was the remedy we ourselves

selves employed on similar occasions: but he and his companions instantly turned the whole into ridicule; and, at the same time, taking some of the glass, they scarified their legs and arms in a most extraordinary manner, informing us that nothing of that kind could ever hurt them.

Such is the character and manners of the people in whose territory we passed such a deplorable season; it was therefore with infinite joy we took our leave of the Cove on the 21st of June, and the following evening we got out to sea. Our crew now consisted only of twenty-four people, including myself and officers, with the two sailors we got from the King George; having, alas! buried twenty-three men in this inhospitable Sound. Those which remained, however, were all in great spirits, though some of them had not yet sufficiently recovered to go aloft. As soon as we got clear of the land, the wind hung much to the Southward, and brought a thick fog along with it. As this weather was very unfavourable to people in our state, it was thought advisable to keep near the coast.

We had now been at sea ten days, and had got no further to the Southward than 57°.

Our people also, from being wet on

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deck,

deck, began to complain of pains in their legs, which swelled so much, that several of them were obliged to keep their beds.—It was determined, therefore, to stand in for land, which was not above forty leagues distant. We accordingly made a very high peak of a singular form, as the inhabitants in its neighbourhood were of singular manners and appearance.

When we got pretty well in with the shore, a considerable number of canoes came off to us, which were of a very different construction from those in the Sound. They were made from a solid tree, and many of them appeared to be from fifty to seventy feet in length, but very narrow, being no broader than the tree itself.—But of all the beings we ever saw in human shape, the women were the most strange and hideous. They have all a cut in their under-lip, similar to the men of Prince William's Sound, but much larger, it being a full inch further in the cheek on either side.—In this aperture they have a piece of wood of at least seven inches in circumference, of an oval shape, of about half an inch thick, which has a groove round the edges, that keeps it steady in the orifice. This unaccountable contrivance distends the lips from the teeth, and

and gives the countenance the most disgusting appearance which we believe the human face to be capable of receiving.—These people appeared not unacquainted with the natives of the Sound, when we described them as having double mouths: indeed their languages seemed to have affinity to each other, but these people appeared to form a much more numerous tribe.—They had never been seen before by any navigator, and had not a favourable wind sprung up in the night, we intended to have passed a few days among them.—The latitude of this part of the coast is in $56^{\circ} 38'$ North, and the longitude $223^{\circ} 0' 25''$ East of Greenwich.

A Northerly wind now sprung up, and brought clear weather along with it, which continued till we made the island of Owhyhee. Our passage from the continent was fortunately very short; but if we had not been blessed with a continuance of fine and favourable weather, the state of the ship was such, as to make it a matter of doubt whether we should have reached the Sandwich Islands. Still, however, the horrid disorder beneath which the crew had so long laboured, continued to accompany us, and one man died before we gained the salubrious climate,

clime, whose zephyrs may be said to have borne health on their wings ; for in ten days after we arrived at the islands, every complaint had disappeared from among us.

We remained here a month, during which time the islanders appeared to have no other pleasure but what arose from shewing kindness and exercising hospitality to us.—They received us with joy—and they saw us depart with tears. Among the numbers who pressed forward, with inexpressible eagerness, to accompany us to *Britanee*,—Tianna, a chief of Atooi, and the brother of the sovereign of that island, was alone received to embark with us, amid the envy of all his countrymen. Of this amiable man I shall add nothing in this place, as he will be rather a conspicuous, and I am disposed to believe, an interesting character in the succeeding pages of this volume.

On the 2d of September, we left the Sandwich Islands, leaving behind us, as we have every reason to believe, the most favourable impressions of our conduct and character with the inhabitants of them, — and grateful, on our part, for the generous friendship and anxious services we received from them.— After a very favourable voyage, carrying the trade winds through the whole of it, we arrived

arrived in the Typa, an harbour near Macao, on the 20th of October 1787.

We had, however, scarcely come to an anchor, when the weather began to wear the appearance of an approaching storm, which our shattered vessel was by no means in a state to encounter. We were also very much alarmed on seeing two French frigates, as they appeared, riding at anchor, about a mile from us. The minds of people so long harassed with hardships, and secluded from all political intelligence, were not in a state to form favourable conjectures, particularly as it was such an uncommon circumstance to see French ships of war in these seas. When therefore, we saw several boats filled with troops putting off from them, we concluded the worst. Having no confidence in the protection of a neutral port, we began to look towards a state of captivity as the concluding scene of our misfortunes. These boats, however, passed by us, as we afterwards learned, to board a Spanish merchantman, in search of runaway sailors. The French ships proved to be the Calypso frigate of 36 guns, and a store ship, commanded by the Count de Kergarieu.—But, as if we were destined to be persecuted by disasters to the last, we had no sooner lost our apprehension of

of human enemies, than we were assailed by elementary foes; for such was the violent gale which now came on, that the Calypso frigate could with difficulty preserve her station with five anchors. The situation of the Nootka, therefore, who had only one left, may be better conceived than described. After adding a few more hair-breadth escapes to those from which she had already been providentially delivered, we were obliged to run her ashore, as the only means of preservation. This was, however, happily effected by the active assistance of the Count de Kergarieu, his officers and seamen, of whose generous, and, I may add, indefatigable services, I am happy to make this page a grateful, though imperfect record.

It is with the most painful sensations, that while I express the most grateful astonishment at the preservation of myself, and the remainder of my crew from the imminent dangers and disasters which we encountered, I am to lament the fate of our consort, the Otter Sloop, Captain Tipping.—No tidings have been received of her after she left Prince William's Sound. We must conclude therefore that she and her people have perished beneath the waves.

V O Y A G E S

TO THE

NORTH WEST COAST OF AMERICA,

IN THE YEARS 1788, AND 1789, &c.

C H A P. I.

*Preparations for the Voyage.—*TIANNA, a Prince of the Island ATOOI, and other Natives of the SANDWICH ISLES embark.—*Character of* TIANNA.—*Complement of the Crew of both Ships.—Quantity of Cattle, &c. embarked for the* SANDWICH ISLES.—*Departure of the* FELICE and IPHIGENIA *from China.*

IN the month of January 1788, in conjunction with several British merchants resident in India, I purchased and fitted out two vessels, named the Felice and the Iphigenia: the former was of 230 tons burthen, and the latter of 200. They were calculated,

1788.

JANUARY.

A

lated,

T H E

1788. lated, in every respect, for their destined
JANUARY. voyage, being good failers, copper-bot-
tomed, and built with sufficient strength
to resist the tempestuous weather so much
to be apprehended in the Northern Pacific
Ocean, during the winter season.

It was originally intended that they should
have sailed from China the beginning of
the season, but the difficulty of procuring
a sufficient quantity of stores necessary for
the voyage, delayed the ships till the 20th
of this month, when they were completely
equipped and ready for sea.

One of the ships was destined to remain
out a much longer time than the other.
It was intended, that at the close of the
autumn of this year, she should quit the
coast of America, and steer to the Sand-
wich Islands, for the purpose of wintering
there; she was then to return to America,
in order to meet her consort from China,
with a supply of necessary stores and re-
freshments, sufficient for the establishing
factories, and extending the plan of com-
merce in which we had engaged.

The crews of these ships consisted of
Europeans and China-men, with a larger
pro-

proportion of the former. The Chinese ^{1788.} were, on this occasion, shipped as an ex- ^{JANUARY} periment: they have been generally esteemed an hardy, and industrious, as well as ingenious race of people; they live on fish and rice, and, requiring but low wages, it was a matter also of æconomical consideration to employ them; and during the whole of the voyage there was every reason to be satisfied with their services.—If hereafter trading posts should be established on the American coast, a colony of these men would be a very important acquisition.

The command of the *Iphigenia* was given to Mr. Douglas, an officer of considerable merit, who was well acquainted with the coast of America, and, on that account, was the most proper person to be entrusted with the charge of conducting this commercial expedition. The crew contained artificers of various denominations, among whom were Chinese smiths and carpenters, as well as European artizans; forming, in the whole, a complement of forty men.

The crew of the *Felice* was composed of the same useful and necessary classes of peo-

1788. ple, and amounted to fifty men:—this ship
JANUARY. was commanded by myself.

A much greater number of Chinese solicited to enter into this service than could be received; and so far did the spirit of enterprize influence them, that those we were under the necessity of refusing, gave the most unequivocal marks of mortification and disappointment.—From the many who offered themselves, fifty were selected, as fully sufficient for the purposes of the voyage: they were, as has been already observed, chiefly handicraft-men, of various kinds, with a small proportion of sailors who had been used to the junks which navigate every part of the Chinese seas.

In a voyage of so long continuance, and such various climates, very serious and natural apprehensions were entertained of the inconveniencies and dangers arising from the scurvy, that cruel scourge of maritime life. Every precaution therefore that humanity or experience could suggest, was taken to prevent its approach, to lessen its violence, and effect its cure: large quantities of molasses, with sufficient proportions of tea, sugar, and every other article that

that might contribute to these salutary 1738.
ends, were carefully provided. Each vessel JANUARY.
carried near five months water, allowing
one gallon per day for each person on
board, a plentiful supply of which being
one of the most effectual preventives of
this disorder. Warm cloathing of every
kind was provided for the crews, as well
Chinese as Europeans:—In short, every
thing was procured that China produced,
to render both vessels as complete as possi-
ble, and to ensure, as far as human means
could be exerted, success to the voyage, and
comfort to every denomination of people
who were employed in it.

Among other objects of this voyage there
was one, at least, of the most disinterested
nature, and the purest satisfaction; and
that was to take back, to their respective
homes, those people who had been brought
from America and the Sandwich Islands.
A certain number of cattle and other use-
ful animals were purchased and taken on
board, for the purpose of being put on
shore at those places where they might add
to the comfort of the inhabitants, or pro-
mise to supply the future navigator, of



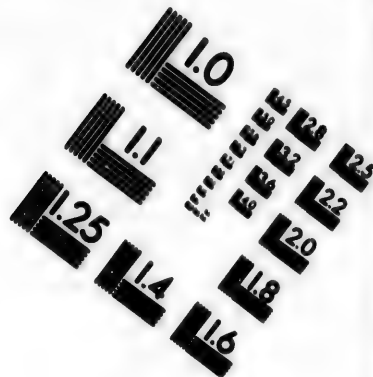
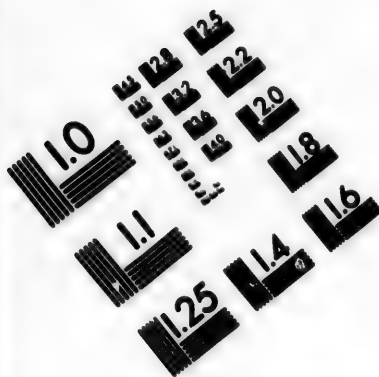
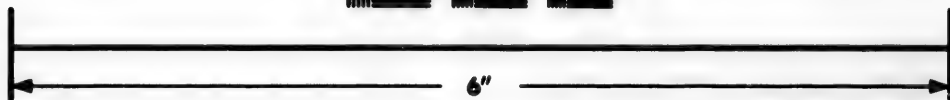
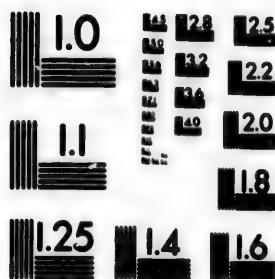


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1788. our own, or any other country, with the
JANUARY. necessary refreshments.

In fulfilling this pleasing duty to these children of nature, whom a curious spirit and an unsuspecting character had led to such a distance from their native country, a very marked attention was paid to Tianna, a prince of the island of Atooi, a chief of illustrious birth and high rank, who, in the year 1787, was carried by me to China, and who now afforded us the pleasure of restoring him to his country and his kindred, with a mind enlarged by the new scenes and pictures of life which he had beheld, and in the possession of various articles of useful application, or comparative magnificence, which would render him the richest inhabitant of his native islands.

Mr. Cox, a commercial gentleman resident in China, was among those whom Tianna regarded with that warm esteem which repeated kindness never fails to excite in a grateful mind: and it would not be doing justice to this amiable Indian, if he were not represented as possessing many of those sentiments which do honour to the most cultivated understanding. Mr. Cox not only
ma-

manifested a general interest in the honour and happiness of Tianna's future life, by the generous consignment of a considerable quantity of live cattle and other animals to the island of Atooi, but, with the most attentive humanity, desired even to indulge his unreflecting fancy, by appropriating a sum of money to be expended as his own untutored choice or wayward preference should direct. This kind arrangement was, however, necessarily set aside; and the imperfect judgment of the chief supplied by the better suggestions of his European friends; who directed the expenditure of the allotted sum, to procure him those comforts and advantages which might last during his life, and tend to the improvement of his nation, instead of gratifying the momentary whim for those objects which he himself might, at a future period, perhaps, learn to despise.

The time that could be spared from the equipment of the ships, was in a great measure, dedicated to this amiable chief, who was with difficulty made to conceive the information that he was so soon to embark for his own islands; from whence,

1788. all the wonders of the new world to which
JANUARY, he had been introduced, were not sufficient
to separate his affections. The love of his
country, a principle which seems to be in-
herent in the human mind, in every state,
and under every clime, operated forcibly
upon him. Those domestic affections which
are the support of all society, as well as
the universal source of happiness; and
that parental sensibility which, in a greater
or less degree, influences all animated na-
ture, from the higher order of man to the
inferior classes of the animal world, did
not lose their energies in the breast of
Tianna. His reflection had often sickened
at the thought of his family and his coun-
try; and the gaze of his astonishment fre-
quently yielded to the intrusive gloom of
painful thought;—while the same hour has
often seen him smile with delight at the
novelties which he beheld around him, and
weep, with bitter lamentations, the far
dearer objects he had left behind, when he
reflected that he might behold them no
more.

When, therefore, he was assured of his
approaching return to Atooi,—the idea that
he

he should again embrace the wife whom he loved, and the child on whom he doted, with all the added consequence which would accompany him, from the knowledge he had acquired, the wealth he possessed, and the benefits he should communicate to the place of his nativity, produced those transports which sensible minds may conceive, but which language is unable to describe.

To give a minute description of his conduct, behaviour, and sentiments, on his arrival at Canton, might be considered as an unavailing digression, unworthy of that curiosity which it is the office of these volumes to gratify.—It may not, however, be improper to observe, that he discovered a mind possessed of those capacities which education might have nurtured into intellectual superiority, and endued with those sensibilities which forbid enlightened reason from applying the name of savage to any human being, of any colour or country, who possesses them.

When he first beheld the ships at Wampoa, his astonishment possessed an activity which baffles description, and he emphatically

1788.

JANUARY.

1788. cally called them the islands of *Britannæ* ;
JANUARY. but when he had surveyed their internal arrangement, with all the various apparatus they contained, the immediate impressions they occasioned on his mind were those of dejection ; he hung his head in silence, and shed an involuntary tear, as it appeared, over what he conceived to be his own inferior nature.—But the same spirit which urged him to quit his native country, in order to return with knowledge that might instruct, and arts that might improve it, soon aroused him into an active and rational curiosity. Indeed he very shortly manifested no common degree of intellectual exertion, by discriminating, as occasion offered, between the people of the several European nations, whom he daily saw, and those of England, whom he always called the men of *Britannæ*.—The natives of China he considered with a degree of disgust which bordered on extreme aversion ; —their bald heads, distended nostrils, and unmeaning features, had raised in his mind the strongest sensations of contempt :—Indeed it might be owing to the addition which the natural dignity of his person may be supposed to
re-

receive from such a prevailing sentiment, 1788.
whenever he found himself amongst them, JANUARY.
that the Chinese appeared to regard him
with awe, and that, wherever he turned,
the timid crowd never failed to open to
him a ready passage.

Tianna was about thirty-two years of
age; he was near six feet five inches in
stature, and the muscular form of his limbs
was of an Herculean appearance. His car-
riage was replete with dignity, and having
lived in the habits of receiving the respect
due to superior rank in his own country, he
possessed an air of distinction, which we will
not suppose could suffer any diminution
from his observation of European manners.
He wore the dress of Europe with the ha-
bitual ease of its inhabitants, and had not
only learned the use and arrangement of
its various articles, but applied his know-
ledge to the uniform and most minute
practice of personal cleanliness and deco-
rum. The natural habits of his mind,
however, occasionally recurred, and the
childish fancy of his native state would
sometimes intrude upon and interrupt the
progress of his improvement. He could
not

1788. not be taught to understand the value of
JANUARY. our current coin, and when he wanted any thing that was to be purchased by it, he would innocently ask for iron ; which being the most valuable metal in his eyes, was naturally considered by him as the medium of barter among other nations.

To return Tianna to his native island, operated very powerfully in forming the arrangements of the voyage before us :— his original design and inclination was to proceed to England ; and Captain Churchill, of the Walpole East Indiaman, offered, in the kindest manner, to take him under his protection, nor could he have found a better protector ; but to consign him to another's care, and to send him to a country from whence there might be no future opportunity of returning to his own, was a business that his friends could not reconcile to their feelings. The permitting him to leave Atooi, was considered as an unreflecting act ; and it was now determined that Tianna should return thither, if not, in reality, happier than before, at least possessed of treasures beyond any possible expectation of his unexperienced mind. But
of

of all the various articles which formed 1788.
his present wealth, his fancy was the most JANUARY.
delighted with a portrait of himself, painted
by Spoilum, the celebrated artist of China,
and perhaps the only one in his line,
throughout that extensive empire. The
painter had, indeed, most faithfully repre-
sented the lineaments of his countenance,
but found the graceful figure of the chief
beyond the powers of his genius. The
surprise that Tianna expressed, as the work
proceeded, was various and extreme, and
seemed to follow with continual change
every added stroke of the pencil. When
this painting was presented to him, he re-
ceived it with a degree of solemnity that
struck all who beheld it; and then, in a
state of agitation in which he had never
been seen by us, he mentioned the cata-
strophe which deprived the world of Cap-
tain Cook. He now, for the first time,
informed us that a fierce war had been
waged throughout the islands, on account
of a painting, which he called a portrait of
that great man, and which had been left
with one of their most potent chiefs. This
picture, he added, was held sacred amongst
3 them,

1788. them, and the respect they paid to it was
JANUARY. considered by them as the only retribution
they could make for their unfortunate destruction of its original.

It may not, perhaps, be thought improper, if a short digression is made in this place, in order to state, that during our former stay* among these islanders, we had every opportunity of estimating their feelings with respect to the lamented fate of Captain Cook, and we have every reason to believe that these distant inhabitants of the watery waste, accompanied with sincere sorrow, the regret of Europe.—The numbers of them which surrounded the ship, with a view to obtain permission to go to *Britannee*, to the friends of their beloved Cook, are incredible. They wept and solicited with an ardour that conquered every previous aversion. Presents were poured in upon us from the chiefs, who were prevented by the multitude from approaching the vessel, and the clamorous cry of *Britannee*, *Britannee*, was for a long time vociferated from every part, and with-

* Some account of this voyage is given in the Introduction,

out ceasing: nor can their silent grief be described, when it was made known among them, that Tianna, a prince of Atooi, was the only one selected to the envied honour of sailing with us. 1788. JANUARY.

Previous to our departure, Taheo, the king of that island, paid us a visit, accompanied by all his chiefs. As they believed that the commanders of every European ship who had touched at their islands since the death of Captain Cook, were the sons of that illustrious navigator, they, in the most affecting manner, deplored that event; and while each of them was solicitous to assert his own innocence, they united in representing the passions that had urged them to commit the fatal deed—which would be a subject of their eternal contrition—as a punishment inflicted on them by their gods. After these, and many similar declarations, they renewed their offers of friendship to *Britannia*, and departed; nor have we the least doubt but that future navigators, who may chance to stop at these islands, will find there a secure and welcome asylum.

The

1788. The other natives of the Sandwich Isles
JANUARY. and America, who were received on board, had been brought to China, by different ships, rather as objects of curiosity, than from the better motive of instruction to them, or advantage to commerce:—they consisted of a woman of the island of Owyhee, named Winee, who was in a bad and declining state of health; a stout man and boy from the island of Mowee, and a native of King George's Sound; the barbarous nature of whose inhabitants rendered it an useless experiment to accompany him with any of those advantages provided for the others.

On board of each ship were embarked six cows and three bulls, four bull and cow calves, a number of goats, turkies, and rabbits, with several pair of pigeons, and other stock in great abundance. Unfortunately it was not in our power, at this time, to procure sheep; but several lime and orange-trees were purchased and destined for Atooi, as Taheo, the sovereign of that island, possessed all the power necessary to protect such valuable property. Had we been so fortunate as to have landed all the cargo

cargo prepared for the Sandwich Islands, 1788.
they would have become the most eligible JANUARY.
places for refreshment in the whole extent
of the Northern Pacific Ocean. If, how-
ever, the American commerce should be
pursued, very considerable advantages will
be found to result even from that part of
our design which was compleated.

On the evening of the 22d of January, Friday 22.
both ships weighed from the Typa to pro-
ceed to sea; but it falling calm shortly
after, and the tide of flood setting against
us, the signal was made for anchoring,
which was accordingly performed in the
roads, in six fathoms, over a muddy bot-
tom. The Iphigenia being in a stronger
part of the tide, was driven farther up the
roads, and anchored about two miles astern
of us. We here found riding, the Argyle-
shire, a large country ship, of between
six and seven hundred tons, bound to Ben-
gal:—she was afterwards unfortunately lost
in her passage from Bengal to China, and
every soul on board supposed to have pe-
rished.

1788.
JANUARY.

C H A P. II.

The IPHIGENIA springs her Foremast.—Passage to the Philippines.—Sail along the Coast of Luconia.—Pass Goat Island, the Isles of Luban, Island of Mindoro and the Calamines.—Scurvy breaks out on Board the IPHIGENIA.—Pass the Island of Panay.—Mutinous Conduct of the Crew on board the FELICE, &c.

Friday 22.

ABOUT nine o'clock in the evening, an air of wind sprung up from the South East, which, though directly against us, determined us to put to sea; and the signal was made to the Iphigenia to weigh. By ten o'clock both ships were under sail, the wind light and variable from the southward.—We continued standing to the Grand Ladrone until midnight, when it became extremely foggy, which occasioned us to shorten sail for the Iphigenia, which was considerably astern. The soundings were regular, from four to six fathoms, over a muddy bottom.—We now lost sight of the

Argyleshire, who also weighed and proceeded to the South West. 1788.

JANUARY.

The morning of the 23d was extremely foggy; and in the night we had lost sight of the Iphigenia.—The wind now veered to the East North East, and began to freshen up; on which a signal was made with two guns to the Iphigenia, to get the larboard tacks on board, and stand to the South East.—At noon the fog cleared away, when the Iphigenia was perceived about a league to leeward of us.—During the night we kept firing guns, and beating the *gongs**, in order that she might judge of our situation. By observation, our latitude was $20^{\circ} 54'$ North, and longitude $114^{\circ} 24'$ East; the South Western part of the Prata shoal bore in the direction of South, 73° East, distant 40 leagues; Cape Bolinou, South, 50° East, distant 419 miles.

As it was our intention to make the coast of Luconia well to windward, we

* A China *gong* resembles, in some degree, the form of a sieve; and is made of a mixture of metals. The China junks use them as bells; and, when they are struck with a wooden mallet, produce a deep, sonorous noise.

1788. resolved to keep as much as possible to the
JANUARY. Eastward, being apprehensive of experiencing southerly currents at this season of the year.—We preferred making the coast of Luconia to that of Mindoro, or the Calamines, the coast of the latter being surrounded with numerous shoals, rocks, and fragments of islets, which render the navigation extremely dangerous, and require the greatest precaution in sailing through such an extensive Archipelago.—The charts of these seas, by Mr. Dalrymple, most certainly possess a great degree of accuracy, but are, as we suppose, necessarily formed on such a confined scale, and marked with such extreme delicacy, as to lessen their intended utility for the common purposes of navigation.—By adhering to this track we hoped to experience less boisterous weather, from being sheltered, in some measure, by the coast of Luconia, and at the same time to steer clear of many dangerous shoals, which lie at some distance from its coast, and are, indeed, scattered throughout these seas.

Monday 25 The course was continued to the South East, till the 25th; the weather gloomy and

and unpleasant; the wind blowing steadily 1788.
from the East North East, and North East JANUARY.
by East, with a very heavy sea. The latitude, at noon, was 18° North; the longitude $117^{\circ} 1'$ East. The South Maroona shoal bearing North 61° East, distance 49 leagues; Cape Bolinou 62° East, distant 67 leagues.

The Iphigenia proved but an heavy sailer, when compared with the Felice, so that we were continually obliged to shorten sail on her account; an inconvenience which we determined to get rid of, by separating company from her, and making the best of our way, as soon as we had got clear of the Sooloo Sea.

In the evening we spoke with the Iphigenia, when Captain Douglas informed us that the ship had sprung a leak in the late bad weather, above the copper, which obliged him to keep one pump going, but that he hoped to stop it the first favourable moment.—This accident occasioned no considerable degree of uneasiness.—Circumstances of this kind have a very unpleasant tendency to dishearten seamen, who, with all their hardy courage, are very subject

1788. to be influenced by superstitious omens of
JANUARY. the most trifling and ridiculous nature;
and which, if they should happen in the
beginning of a voyage, will frequently operate
upon their minds and conduct through
the most lengthened course of it.

Our China crew were all extremely affected
by sea-sickness, which was a very discouraging
circumstance; and the excessive rolling
and tumbling of the ship, caused the cattle
to droop; indeed, from the apparent impossibility
of preserving them all, during
such a long voyage,—from the want of proper
food, and as there were a greater quantity
on board than were necessary to stock
the islands to which they were destined,—
it was thought proper to kill them all but
two cows and a bull, and one bull and one
cow calf, who might, we hoped, become
enured to the voyage, and be preserved to
their destination. Accordingly two of them
were killed, and fresh meat served to the
crew, with barley, which made them comfortable
messes.

During the evening it blew very strong
indeed, with an heavy sea.—We continued
standing to the South East, in the hope of
being

being able to weather the North Maroon 1788.
shoal; the position of which, according to JANUARY.
Mr. Dalrymple, is extremely doubtful;—
we therefore kept the best look-out in our
power.

At five o'clock we were alarmed, by perceiving that the *Iphigenia* spread abroad the signal of distress, which denoted, at the same time, that she was not in want of immediate assistance: we however instantly bore up and spoke to her; when Captain Douglas informed us that his fore-mast was so dangerously sprung, that some method must be immediately taken to secure it; but the sea ran so high, and it blew at the same time so strong, that we were prevented from affording any assistance whatever; we shortened sail, however, immediately; and before night the *Iphigenia* had her fore-top-mast and top-gallant-mast on deck, and her foremast entirely stripped.

It was now absolutely necessary for us to keep under what possible sail we could; and as the *Iphigenia* was able to keep abroad her main-top-sail, main-sail, and mizen, to give these sails their proper effect during the night, we kept two points from the wind,

B 4

under

1788. under an easy sail, giving up all hopes of
JANUARY. weathering the North Maroona, and being doubtful even of keeping our wind sufficient to weather the South Maroona, which is described as extremely dangerous, and whose situation is as uncertain as that of the Northern shoal of the same name.—It blew very hard during the night, with a heavy sea; the Iphigenia appearing to labour exceedingly.

This was, indeed, a very unfortunate event; the weather we had to encounter was very much to be dreaded, and the crippled state of the Iphigenia's mast greatly increased our apprehensions; as, in case it should meet with any further injury, there was no friendly port nearer to us than Batavia, where we should be able to replace it. Our situation, driven as we were about those seas, and surrounded by dangerous shoals, was truly distressing and alarming.—It was impossible for us to make the land, as we might be thrown into a situation which would encrease the danger of the Iphigenia; and as to leaving her in so distressed a condition, such a design did not occur to us for a moment; besides, we were
not

not without apprehensions of being driven 1788.
too far to the Southward, which would render it impossible for us to get hold of the coast of Luconia, Mindoro or the Calamines, and under such circumstances, instead of making the passage of the Sooloo Sea, we should have been obliged to take our course through the Straits of Sunda, and reach the Northern Pacific Ocean by the Straits of Macassar, of which, after all, we were rather doubtful; or, by doubling the South Eastern extremity of New Holland, if we should give up the passage of the Endeavour's Straits—It is very easy to conceive the uneasiness we suffered from the bare prospect of such a circuitous navigation.

The weather did not moderate until the twenty-sixth at noon: the latitude was then $17^{\circ} 5'$ North, and the longitude 118° East. The South Western end of the North Maroon bore in the direction of South East, distant thirty leagues. We kept standing towards it during the night under such sail as the *Iphigenia* could spread, and we very much wished to have sent a boat on board her: but, on a sudden, the weather became as tempestuous as ever, so that we could
neither

1788. neither send carpenters or plank to her assistance.—A stage had been erected round her mast head, but a great hollow sea increased our alarms for her situation.

JANUARY.

This day, another of the cattle was killed for the crew; indeed, the excessive tumbling and rolling of the ships made us despair of saving any of them; two of the finest goats having already been crushed by a sudden roll of the ship.—During the night it blew extremely hard, with a great hollow sea.—We kept steering to the South East, frequently bringing too for the *Iphigenia*, she being under such small sail.

This unfavourable weather continued till the 27th, at noon. The latitude was $16^{\circ} 20'$ North, and longitude $119^{\circ} 12'$ East. The observation, however, was but of little dependence, from the variety of currents which we experienced. The wind had veered to the Northward, and we hauled up East South East, proportioning our sail to that of the *Iphigenia*. It was, indeed, apprehended, that an Easterly current had set us to the Westward, as our latitude was $16^{\circ} 20'$ North, without seeing any thing of the shoal. As we could not suppose it possible

fible that we should be to the Eastward of 1788.
the Maroonia, we were under the necessity JANUARY.
of hauling to the East, as much as the run-
ning of a very high sea would permit.

In the evening we spoke with Captain
Douglas, who informed us that the head of
his foremast was entirely rotten, and that
it was with great difficulty the carpenters
could proceed in their attempts to secure it
from the high, rolling sea.—Before night,
however, we had the satisfaction of seeing
the Iphigenia's fore-top over head, and her
lower rigging set up; so that our fears of
being driven to the southward of Mindoro,
in some measure subsided.

It was, however, determined, that, from
the great extent of seas we had to cross, the
risk would be too great for the Iphigenia, in
her present state, to attempt such a passage
without having her mast well secured; or,
if condemned, to be replaced by another.—
It was therefore resolved to call a survey of
the carpenters on it, the first favourable
moment; and it was absolutely necessary to
fix immediately on some place where the
repairs that should be found requisite could
be accomplished. The Spanish settlement of
Sam-

1788. Samboingan, on the Southern extremity of
JANUARY. Magindanao, was considered as the best place
for our purpose; and though we had scarcely
ever heard of it, and the hospitality of the
Spaniards was always to be doubted, our
necessity obliged us to such a determination,
rather than proceed to Batavia, or encounter
the coast of New Holland.

This evening, we passed great quantities
of rock-weed and drift-wood, which made
us apprehensive of falling in with the shoals.

Thursday 23. In the morning, the island of Luconia
was discerned from the mast-head, bearing
from East North East, to East South East,
distant 12 or 14 leagues, and bore an high
and mountainous appearance. As we closed
in with the land, the weather became mo-
derate and fine, and the sea entirely sub-
sided. The Iphigenia had got up her fore
top-mast. At noon the observed latitude
was $16^{\circ} 16'$ North; so that, during the
last twenty-four hours, we had experienced
a strong Northerly current.

Nothing can more strongly prove the dan-
ger of navigating the China seas, than
the variety of contrary currents which we
experienced in so short a time:—During
the

the greater part of the North East Monsoon, it has been generally observed, that a Northerly current sets along the coast of Luconia, as far as Cape Bolinou : there the great body of water rushing through the straits which form the passage between Formosa, this Island, and the Babuyanes, checks this current, and turns it into the China Sea, where it receives a Southerly direction, at the distance of 15 or 20 leagues from the coast of Luconia. 1788. JANUARY.

The currents, at all periods of the North East Monsoon, run strongly to the Southward in those seas, excepting near Luconia ; but the streams of them acquire greater force at the distance of 30 or 40 leagues from the shores of this island, than they do off the coast of China : this circumstance may be occasioned by the junction of the waters passing through the straits of Luconia, and those between China and Formosa. Ships bound for China, which are late in the season, might avail themselves of these currents to reach Cape Bolinou, when an easy and pretty secure passage is open to Canton. Indeed, bordering on the coast of Luconia may be attended with great advantages;

3

1788. tages; for, independent of this Northerly
JANUARY. current, fine weather is generally experienced. At times, variable winds;—in the very height of the North East Monsoon, it has sometimes been known to blow a smart gale from the South West.

As our apprehensions had continued to increase of being drifted to the southward, the satisfaction we felt at thus getting in with the land may be easily conceived.—Towards the evening of this day it fell calm; but, about nine o'clock, a fresh breeze sprung up from the South West, which made us stand on our tacks, for the night, on and off shore; where we saw several fires, which remained burning during the greater part of the night. Our distance was between six and seven leagues.

Friday 29. In the morning, the land bore from North North East, to South South East, our distance being about six leagues:—it appeared very mountainous, and was covered with wood, except in some detached places, on the declivity of the mountains. Vast columns of smoke ascended from the interior heights, which denoted population. The latitude at noon was $15^{\circ} 52'$ North.
During

During the evening and the night, we continued standing to the land, but could find no soundings with an hundred and fifty fathoms of line. 1788. JANUARY.

The land extended from North by East, to North East by East, distant about six leagues; at which distance we kept steering along the shore to the Southward and Eastward; the latitude was $15^{\circ} 19'$ North, by observation. The weather was extremely moderate, and pleasant under the land, the sea remarkably smooth, and a continuation of high, mountainous country, covered with wood, presented itself to our view. Saturday 30

At night, it blew a fresh breeze from the Westward; and we stood to the South by East, to make Goat Island, keeping a good look out for some shoals that are said to lie to the Northward of the island.

In the morning, about eight o'clock, Goat Island was seen, bearing North East by North, about the distance of six leagues; the coast of Luconia bearing, at this time, from North by West to South East, at the distance of 14 leagues. From an observation made at noon, the latitude was $13^{\circ} 45'$ North. Sunday 31

Goat

1788. Goat Island appeared of a moderate height,
JANUARY. and to be well wooded, but without any
sign of inhabitants. The Luban Islands
were perfect mountains covered with woods :
—The Spanish charts, indeed, represent the
Lubans as connected by shoals with Goat
Island ; but we could not perceive any broken
water, or procure soundings with one
hundred and fifty fathoms of line.

We took the opportunity of the favourable
weather we now enjoyed to put the
ships in a state of defence. The guns
were accordingly mounted, a sufficient quantity
of powder and ammunition was filled,
and every other necessary preparation made,
as those seas are infested with numerous
bands of pirates. Two very fine ships had
lately been taken by them. One of them
was the *May*, of 300 tons, and mounting
twenty guns, and had been on a trading
voyage from Bengal to the coast of Borneo.
General intelligence was received from the
Malays of her being destroyed, but not a
single person escaped to relate the particulars.
Several other ships have very narrowly
escaped destruction : indeed, scarce
a year passes away, but some catastrophe
of

of this kind happens. The proas from 1788.
Magindanao and Sooloo issue forth in such JANUARY.
swarms, that it becomes dangerous for a
weak ship to sail those seas. These proas
are manned with an hundred, and some-
times an hundred and fifty men, well armed,
and generally mounting pieces of cannon
of six or twelve pounders. As soon as a
ship is captured by them, a carnage en-
sues,—and the unhappy few who survive it
are carried into irredeemable slavery. These
people cruise in fleets of thirty or forty of
these proas; nay, sometimes an hundred
of them have been perceived in company;
and though we did not very much apprehend
that they would venture to attack two
ships, it would have been an unpardonable
negligence if we had not prepared ourselves
for whatever might happen. We availed
ourselves also of the present favourable op-
portunity to survey the masts of the Iphi-
genia, and deliver her such stores and other
articles as we knew that she wanted, to put
her in a respectable state of defence. We
therefore sent on board her two additional
pieces of cannon, with a requisite proportion
of powder, ball, and other ammunition;

1788. and in return received a quantity of coals
JANUARY. for the forges, and several other necessary
articles.

Additional reasons continually arose why the ships should separate on the first opportunity after we had cleared these dangerous seas. But, if even there had been no other, the *Felice*, by keeping company with the *Iphigenia*, who was at best inferior in point of sailing, would have been very much impeded in her voyage; and it was become necessary to make every possible exertion to save our season on the coast of America.

In the evening, the carpenters returned from the *Iphigenia*, and reported the mast to be, in every respect, unequal to the voyage; they even doubted whether it would carry her to Samboingan. The head was quite rotten and supported by the cheeks: good fishes, however, were put on, and securely woolded.

At sunset the island of Mindoro was seen bearing South East by East, distant ten leagues. The wind blew very strong from the East, and it came down in violent puffs from the high mountains of Luban: during the night a press of sail was carried to reach

reach under the shore of Mindoro. The 1788.
wind blew invariably from the East, so JANUARY.
that we became apprehensive of being en-
tangled with the islands called the Cala-
mines, which are not only in great number,
but extremely dangerous. The top-sails
were reefed, and as much sail as we could
well keep abroad was carried, which brought
us happily under Mindoro about midnight.
It soon after became squally, and as it would
have been very hazardous in a dark night,
and on an unknown coast, to run, the sig-
nal was made to the Iphigenia to heave to
with her head off shore; we immediately
did the same; but she had stretched a-head
out of sight, though she answered our sig-
nal.—During the night it blew very hard,
and we were continually foundering, but
could find no ground with an hundred
fathoms of line. The inhabitants not only
kept numerous and constant fires along the
shores, but had even lighted them on the
very summits of the mountains.

At day break we occupied much the same
situation as when we hove to in the night.
The Iphigenia was near four leagues a-head,
but we made sail and joined her by noon.

FEBRUARY
Friday 1.

1788. Our latitude was $12^{\circ} 59'$ North: The
FEBRUARY. island of Mindoro bore South East by East,
—distant six leagues.

The island of Mindoro at sunset, bore from North by East half East, to South East by East, half East; our distance from the shore about six leagues. In the night it was, as usual, very tempestuous, and we experienced a very strong current against us, which caused such a confused sea, that we were apprehensive for our masts and yards. Early in the evening we had shortened sail, and kept a good look out for the shoals that lie between Mindoro and the Calamines. In order to clear them, we hauled close under the shore of the former island; the channel between Mindoro and those shoals being represented as three leagues wide. The fires appeared to be more numerous on the declivity of the mountains, and were kept burning all night.

Saturday 2. At nine o'clock in the morning we perceived the Calamine Islands, bearing South West to South East, distant sixteen or seventeen leagues. The weather had also taken a favourable turn; it was become moderate and pleasant, and we congratulated ourselves very
very

very much on entering this channel ; as the strong Easterly winds might have blown us to the Southward and Westward of the Calamines, which would have obliged us to have bore up along the coast of Palawan, and made our entrance again into the Sooloo Sea very precarious at this season of the year. We now found the advantage of keeping the shores of the Philippines on board, whenever the winds permitted us ; but in accomplishing this we experienced some difficulty from the constant North East and East winds, which obliged us to carry a constant press of sail.

Captain Douglas embraced this opportunity to inform us that the scurvy had made its appearance on board his ship. The carpenter, two of the quarter-masters, and some of the seamen were already ill,—others discovered symptoms which were truly alarming,—their legs swelling, and their gums becoming putrid. They were, therefore, immediately put on a diet,—spruce beer was ordered to be constantly brewed, and served in the room of spirits, several baskets of oranges were sent on board, whose efficacious qualities in this

1788. distemper are well known, and every other
FEBRUARY. antiscorbutic was immediately brought into
application, in order to check this early ap-
pearance of a disorder, whose continuance
would be attended with such fatal conse-
quences.

We very sensibly perceived the encreasing
heat of the weather. On leaving China,
we had it piercing cold; and now, on a
sudden, we felt the opposite extreme.—
Such a change, with the heavy dews which
fell morning and evening, was a very un-
healthy circumstance; nevertheless we were
rather astonished, that men who had so
lately quitted the shore, where they had a
plentiful allowance of fresh provisions and
vegetables, and who had not tasted salt meat
for many months, should be attacked with
such violent scorbutic symptoms, and at
such an early period of our voyage. Be-
sides, we were extremely careful in the
distribution of their food; the salt provi-
sions were always well steeped; rice and
peas were boiled alternately every day;
tea and sugar were given the crews for
breakfast; they had a plentiful allowance
of water, and every possible attention was
paid

paid to preserve cleanliness among them: 1788.
 they were never permitted to sleep on deck, FEBRUARY.
 lest they should be affected by the unwhole-
 some dews; and no spirits were suffered to
 be issued in their raw state,—a circumstance
 of the last importance to all seamen. Indeed
 these precautions should be redoubled with
 respect to men who have made frequent
 voyages to India, as their blood becomes,
 on that account, more liable to the attacks
 of this most formidable disorder.

We kept steering, during the night,
 under the shores of Mindoro; the topsails
 were close reefed, and, the weather being
 very squally, we frequently founded, but
 could find no bottom with an hundred fa-
 thoms of line, though within four leagues
 of the land.

This morning we lost sight of Mindoro, Sunday 3
 and at noon the Island of Panay was seen
 bearing from North East by East, to South
 East, distant nine leagues; the weather
 moderated with the wind from the North
 East. The latitude at noon was $12^{\circ} 53'$
 North.

The Island of Mindoro is of considerable
 extent; in some parts it appeared to be

1788. only of a moderate height, in others very
FEBRUARY. mountainous, and almost every where covered with wood. From the numerous columns of smoke which we observed ascending both from the vallies and the mountains, during the day, and the fires that continued to illuminate the night, there is the greatest reason to suppose that it possesses a considerable degree of population. Some parts which we were able to observe distinctly, appeared to be truly delightful; they consisted of extensive lawns, clothed in the finest verdure, watered with silver rivulets, and adorned with groves of trees, so disposed, either by art or nature, as to form scenes of rural beauty which would adorn the most refined state of European cultivation.

Monday 4

On the following day we ranged up with the Island of Panay: the latitude at noon was $10^{\circ} 36'$ North; our distance from the land four miles; and, which is very extraordinary, without being able to find soundings with eighty fathoms of line. Numerous villages appeared on the declivity of the hills, and the whole country formed a most luxuriant prospect. The habitations seemed to be extremely well built, and

arranged with great regularity. The hills 1783.
were verdant, and their gentle slopes were FEBRUARY.
varied with streams of water running down
to the plains, where they flowed round,
or meandered through well-cultivated plan-
tations:—the whole forming pictures of
nature equal to those which we had seen on
the preceding day; and received every ad-
vantage from the very fine weather we now
enjoyed.

Our eyes wandered over the picturesque
and fruitful scene now before us, with the
most sensible pleasure. We were, at times,
within three miles of the shore, which, near
the water-side, formed a fine sandy beach,
lined with cocoa-nut trees, beneath whose
shade we beheld the natives, in great num-
bers, enjoying a cool retreat from the in-
tense heat of the sun, and busied in the
various occupations of the day. We very
much regretted that we had not time to cast
anchor here, in order to have enjoyed some
communication with them. It may not
be also unworthy of remark, that we did
not discover a single canoe or fishing-boat on
that part of the coast along which we passed.

At

1788. At this time a mutiny was discovered
FEBRUARY. on board the Felice ; which, however, was
fortunately quelled by gentle means, even
before it had communicated itself to the
whole crew. But, in order to stamp some
degree of disgrace upon the business, all
the circumstances of it were inserted in the
log-book of the ship.

And here it may not be improper to offer
an opinion, that, if in long voyages, all
the particulars of the good and bad behavi-
our of the crew were described in the log-
book as they arose, such a regulation would
be attended with the happiest consequences.
Shame will always be found to operate,
more or less, on every man, whatever his
rank or employment of life may be, who
is not absolutely abandoned ; and to such,
the severest punishment will have no effect
beyond the smarting of the moment.—
Indeed I am firmly of opinion, that many
a sailor, with all the hardy training of a sea
life, and all the insensibility attributed to
a seaman's character, would be deterred
from an improper conduct, by the appre-
hension of having it registered in the records
of the ship, when the temporary pain of
corporal

corporal punishment would be considered with contempt.

1788.
FEBRUARY.

Indeed I cannot but lament the inefficacy of the marine laws to restrain the unlawful behaviour of sailors on board merchant ships. It is a real disgrace to the first maritime and commercial nation in the world, to have been so long without an established system of regulations to preserve the obedience of seamen in the trade service, as well as that in the navy. How many ships have been lost, from the licentious, ungovernable conduct of their crews! and how many voyages rendered unprofitable from the same cause. Nevertheless, it does not appear that any efforts have been made to prevent such a manifest inconvenience to the commerce of our country. Other nations have included merchant ships in the general laws enacted for maritime subordination; and it is of real consequence to this country to follow such a salutary example, and to form a code of regulations that may operate to keep in a due state of discipline a class of men who are so necessary to the commerce, the strength, and the glory of the British empire.

CHAP.

1788.
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CHAP. III.

Sickness of the Sandwich Islanders.—Death of Winee; her Character, &c.—Destruction of Cattle.—Islands of Basilan and Magindanao.—The Ships anchor off the latter.—The Carpenters and Party sent on Shore to cut a Mast, &c.—Loss of a China Man.—Spaniards sent on board to compliment the Ships.—Both Ships moor off Fort Caldera.—Behaviour of the Spanish Governor, &c.

Monday 4

OUR friends of Owyhee had suffered extremely during the passage across the China seas. Tianna, in his constant attendance upon Winee, had caught a fever, which, with the humane anxiety he felt on her account, confined him for some time to his bed. The man from Nootka Sound, however, possessing a very robust constitution, bore the inconveniences of the voyage with little complaint; but the poor, unfortunate woman justified our fears concerning her, that she would never again see her friends or native land. She every day declined

declined in strength, and nothing remained for us, but to ease the pains of her approaching dissolution, which no human power could prevent. Nor did we fail, I believe, in any attention that humanity could suggest, or that it was in our power to bestow. She had been for some time a living spectre, and on the morning of the fifth of February she expired. At noon her body was committed to the deep; nor was it thought an unbecoming act to grace her remains with the formalities of that religion which opens wide its arms to the whole human race, of every colour, and under every clime, to the savage as well as to the saint and the sage. Tianna was so much affected by the circumstance of her death, that we were for some time under very painful apprehensions lest his health might suffer from the feelings of his humanity on this occasion; as he possessed, in a very great degree, that delicacy of constitution which discriminates the chiefs from the vulgar people, and is peculiar to the great men of his country.

Thus died Winee, a native of Owyhee, one of the Sandwich Islands, who possessed virtues

*-Death of
Bruñion of
Magindanao.
The Car-
e to cut a
.-Spani-
the Ships.
Caldera.-
nor, &c.*

*d suffered
ge across
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a fever,
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ome time
a Sound,
constitu-
the voy-
ne poor,
ears con-
gain fee
very day
declined*

1788. virtues that are seldom to be found in the
FEBRUARY. class of her countrywomen to which she
belonged; and a portion of understanding
that was not to be expected in a rude and
uncultivated mind. It may not, perhaps,
be uninteresting to mention the cause of
this poor girl's departure from her friends
and country, which it was her fate never
to behold again.

Captain Barclay, who commanded the
Imperial Eagle, was one of those adven-
turers to the coast of America who made
a very successful voyage. Mrs. Barclay
accompanied her husband, and shared with
him in the toils, the hardships, and vicissi-
tudes incident to such long, as well as peri-
lous voyages; but by no means calculated
for the frame, the temper, or the education
of the softer sex. This lady was so pleased
with the amiable manners of poor Winee,
that she felt a desire to take her to Europe;
and for that purpose took her, with the
consent of her friends, under her own par-
ticular care and protection. On Mrs. Bar-
clay's departure from China for Europe,
Winee was left, as we have already men-
tioned, in a deep decline, to embark for

her country, with the rest of the natives of the Sandwich Islands. 1788.

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On the morning of her death, she presented Tianna, as a token of her gratitude for his kind attentions to her, with a plate looking-glass, and a basin and bottle of the finest China: to these gifts she also added a gown, an hoop, a petticoat, and a cap for his wife; the rest of her property, consisting of a great variety of articles, she bequeathed to her family; and they were deposited with Tianna, to be delivered to her father and mother.

Nor let fastidious pride cast a smile of contempt on the trifles that composed her little treasure. They were wealth to her, and would have given her a very flattering importance, had she lived to have taken them to her native island. But when we consider the sufferings of her mind, on the reflection that she should never behold her country again;—when we see, as it were, the disappointment of an inoffensive pride preying on her spirits;—when to these causes of dejection are added the pains of incurable disease, increased by the tossing of the billows, and the violence of tempestuous

1788. pestuous seas,—humanity must feel for
FEBRUARY. those miseries which haunt every corner of
the earth,—and yield a compassionate tear
to the unfortunate Winee !

The bad weather had, at this time, greatly
reduced our stock of cattle,—there now re-
mained of our original number, but one
bull, one cow, and one cow-calf ;—all the
goats, except two, had perished.

Tuesday 5 At sunfet, on the fifth, we had almost
lost sight of Panay ; Point de Nasso, the
southern extremity, then bore East North
East, distant seven leagues. The weather
was extremely hazy, with the wind from
the North East ; and we kept steering
during the night to the southward and
eastward, under an easy sail, for the southern
extremity of the island of Magindanao,
which we descried on the morning of the

Wednesday 6 6th of February, at day-break, bearing
East, seven or eight leagues distant : it
appeared high, and very mountainous.---
At noon, the latitude was $7^{\circ} 22'$ North,
and our distance from the land three leagues.
The mountains jutted abruptly into the
sea ; and from their summits to the water's
edge, were covered with wood. We were
con-

continually sounding, but could find no bottom with an hundred fathoms of line.

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It now became a matter for our choice, either to steer directly to Sooloo, or to the Spanish settlement of Samboingan; the latter, however, was preferred, it being thought by no means prudent to run so far to leeward as the former. Besides, as it was, the continual North East winds made us apprehensive that we should find it rather a difficult matter to weather Jelolo, or even New Guinea; it was, therefore, determined to keep the shore of Magindanao close on board, and trust to chance to supply our wants: we continued running down the island till sunset, the shores being bold, and no danger to be apprehended, as we could procure no ground. The Western extremity bore South South East five leagues; and as we thought it rather hazardous to run during the night, the signal was therefore made to heave to till morning; when Thursday 7 we resumed our course, at about the distance of a mile from the shore. In the night we had experienced a Northerly current.

VOL. I.

D

At

1788. At noon, the island of Basilan was seen, bearing South South West nine leagues. Our latitude was $7^{\circ} 8'$ North. It had a very singular appearance, from a great number of hills of a conical form; one of which terminated its Eastern extremity, and resembled, in shape, the cap of a Chinese Mandarin. It was a very conspicuous object, being the highest of this curious groupe of hills. This island lies near East and West; and several other islands, but of much less extent, appear off its Western point.

About three in the afternoon, we opened the channel that separates Basilan from Magindanao. At half past three, the Southern extremity of Magindanao was doubled; and we entered this channel, which appeared to be of considerable breadth, with several small islands in the midst of it. Our soundings were from twenty-five to thirty fathoms, over a rocky bottom. The South end of Magindanao we estimate to lie in the latitude of $6^{\circ} 56'$ North; the shore was every where covered with wood, down to the sea.

At half past four we were most agreeably surpris'd at seeing a small stone fort seated

on the Magindanao shore, contiguous to a stream of running water, and about two miles from the South point. At the same time a large village was seen more to the Eastward. The ensign was immediately hoisted, which very soon occasioned the Spanish colours to be displayed from the fort, and we were now no longer in doubt that the place was Samboingan. It was a square building, with centry boxes at each angle, covered with thatch, and the ramparts seemed to be crowded with Malaysians; but on the whole it had the appearance of a very indifferent fortification.

The tide of ebb now came strongly against us, and the signal was made for anchoring, which was accordingly done in eleven fathoms, over a muddy bottom, at the distance of about two miles from the fort, and within a quarter of a mile from the shore, which appeared to be covered with an impenetrable wood.

The boats were immediately hoisted out, and the carpenters sent to examine the nature of the woods. We now observed with our glasses the Spanish colours flying on another fortification adjoining to the village,

1788. and before which two gallees were riding at
FEBRUARY. anchor. About five o'clock, a small boat
came along-side us, with a white flag flying
in her bow;—she was rowed by four Ma-
layans, and had on board three Spanish Pa-
dres or Priests. At first they appeared to be
extremely apprehensive that our arrival fore-
boded some kind of hostility; but being
assured that our intentions were peaceable
and friendly, they accepted our invitation
to come on board, and having taken some
refreshment, they returned to the village;
after having cautioned us not to permit any
of our people to straggle into the woods,
which were infested with Malayans, who
would be upon the watch to make every
kind of depredation upon us. In conse-
quence of this very kind and important in-
formation, orders were immediately dis-
patched to the Iphigenia, who had anchored
about a mile from us, to withdraw her people
from the shore.

The carpenter returned about six o'clock,
and made a report that every kind of timber
we wanted, might be procured.

Friday 3

In the morning an officer, with a strong
party, was dispatched with the carpenters
to

to cut down some spars for top-sail yards, 1788.
and steering sail-booms for the Felice; and FEBRUARY.
orders were issued to the Iphigenia to send
a similar party to cut a fore-mast; in the
mean time, the pinnace was employed in
sounding and surveying the channel, which
was found to contain great over-falls, from
five to ten, and thirty fathoms at a cast,
with a very rocky ground.

About noon, the carpenters returned on
board, having procured a top-sail yard and
the booms. They had also felled a fore-
mast for the Iphigenia. The officer informed
us of the loss of a China-man, who was sup-
posed to have strayed into the woods, and
to have been seized by the Malaysians. A
numerous band of these savages, well armed
after their fashion, hovered about the place
where the carpenters were at work, and as
we could not procure any intelligence of
this poor unfortunate man, there is but too
much reason to believe that he fell into the
hands of the natives.

At one o'clock a large boat arrived from
the governor, who resided at the village, to
compliment us on our arrival, and to invite

1788. us to an entertainment which his hospitality
FEBRUARY. had prepared. The officer who was employed to bring this polite invitation, confirmed the account of the priests respecting the perfidious character of the natives of the island; and recommended, in the strongest terms, that we should use every possible precaution when we sent any parties on shore. He also informed us that we might procure any necessary timber with more ease and safety in the neighbourhood of the village, which possessed another advantage that might be of great use to us,—the being washed by a rivulet of very fine water. He also added, on the part of the governor, that he should be happy to give us every assistance in his power.

It was, therefore, immediately resolved that the ships should moor nearer to the village; accordingly at two o'clock the tide making in our favour, both ships weighed and anchored abreast of a large stone fort, called Fort Caldera, whose bastions were within an hundred yards of the sea.

The fort was saluted with nine guns, which compliment was immediately returned.

turned. The body of the village bore North 1788.
by East half East, distant about a quarter FEBRUARY.
of a mile; the extremities of Magindanao
East North East, to North North West;
and the Island of Basilan from South East
by East, to South West by West, distant
about twelve leagues.

1788.

FEBRUARY.

C H A P. IV.

Our Reception at Samboingan.—Friendly Behaviour of the Governor, &c.—He visits the Ships, &c.—The FELICE prepares to put to Sea.—Loses an Anchor and departs for America.—Some Account of Magindanao, &c.—Astronomical Observations, Anchorage, &c.—The Village of Samboingan.—Spanish Force and Power.—Description of a Ball given by the Governor, and the Manners of the People.—Nautical Observations on the Passage between the China Seas and the Northern Pacific Ocean.—Danger of navigating the China Seas.—Account of the several Passages between the two Oceans, with Directions, &c.—Passage between Formosa and the Philippines.—Bashee Isles:—Description of them.

Saturday 9

THE Governor of Samboingan, who was a captain in a regiment of infantry at Manilla, received us with the greatest politeness, assured us of every assistance in his power, and supplied us, without hesitation, with whatever refreshments the island afforded,—

forded.—He was attended by three priests, 1788.
 two of whom were young men, but the third FEBRUARY.
 was rather of an advanced age, and had re-
 sided on that island during an uninterrupted
 course of thirty years.

We were conducted into the fort, which
 appeared to be in a very ruinous state, and
 were regaled, after the Spanish fashion, with
 sweetmeats and cordials:—a very handsome
 repast then succeeded, to which the major
 of the country militia, and other officers,
 were invited. Some of these gentlemen were
 natives of Manilla, and others of Maginda-
 nao, whose complexions were so dark as to
 approach very nearly to the blackness of the
 African. The priests enjoyed, as well as
 enlivened, the hospitalities of the day, and
 did not appear to be of opinion that they
 were thrown into that corner of the globe
 to pass their time in penitence and prayer.

The rivulet that flowed through the vil-
 lage, after washing the walls of the fort,
 emptied itself into the sea, at no great dis-
 tance from our mooring, which afforded us
 a very convenient opportunity of watering:
 we accordingly embraced the occasion to
 replace

1788. replace what we had expended of such an
FEBRUARY. important article.

Sunday 10

On the 10th, the governor was so very obliging as to permit the two gallies, completely armed, to accompany the boats of both the ships, that were employed to convey the carpenters on shore, to cut another fore-mast for the *Iphigenia* in the woods, the first having been found defective, about a league from the fort. About noon they got under sail, and proceeded with the boats, which were also well manned and armed. We had been assured that large parties of Malays were always on the watch, either to commit depredations on the people, or to carry off any unguarded straggler into slavery, from whence they seldom or ever escaped. We were therefore determined to be in such a state of preparation as to secure the object of our little expedition from being materially interrupted by them. About nine the parties returned with a very fine stick, without having seen the face of an enemy.— In the mean time the other operations were proceeding, and every preparation making for the continuance of our voyage. At this place, however, it was resolved that we should

should separate. The Iphigenia could not have been ready for sea at least for some days; and even that period had become an object of some importance, from the present advanced state of the year. The Felice was provided with every thing she could want, and we therefore prepared to leave Samboingan without any farther delay.

Tianna, and Comekala, the man from King George's Sound, were, since the death of Winee, the only persons of their respective countries on board the Felice; the rest of them were on board the Iphigenia, to which we now consigned the amiable chief of Atooi, as her course comprehended his native islands. — Comekala remained with us, as the destination of our voyage was to his own country.

Tianna had been so sensibly affected by the death of Winee, as to produce a considerable alteration in the state of his health: — his fever continued, and baffled all our attentions to relieve him. The same fate that had separated for ever his unfortunate countrywoman from her friends and native land, pressed home upon his reflection. — He may be supposed to have felt, and sometimes, perhaps,

1788. perhaps, expected that he might hear no
FEBRUARY. more the tender names of father or of husband ;—that he might share with Winee a premature grave in the bosom of the ocean. —He was therefore consigned to the care of Captain Douglas, with the hopes that the remaining on shore till his departure, with the novelty of the scenes around him, might abate his disorder, and recruit his spirits with a sufficient degree of strength to bear out the remainder of the voyage.

On the evening of this day, we received on board four fine buffaloes, with grafs and plantain trees for them and our other cattle : —to these were also added a quantity of rice, vegetables, and fruit, with several very fine hogs ; and it was our design to put to sea without delay : but the wind springing up from the South East, and the weather appearing very gloomy and unsettled, our departure was deferred to the following day.

As we had now an opportunity to make the governor some acknowledgment for his very friendly attentions, an officer was dispatched with a message of thanks for his kindness to us, accompanied with an invitation to partake of a repast the next day on board

board the ships, which he very readily accepted. In return for which compliment, he requested our presence at a ball that evening; some account of which will be given when I come to mention the state, &c. of the island, and its inhabitants.

At the time appointed, the governor made us the promised visit, attended by the three padres, and the major of militia; and we exerted ourselves to the utmost in our entertainment, to manifest a proper sensibility to the friendship he had shewn us. The priests enjoyed themselves on board the ships as they had done on shore; and joined in one common sentiment, that nothing tends so much as wine and good cheer to annihilate the force of religious distinctions.—The governor and his suite left us with the most cordial expressions of satisfaction at our reception of them.

At four o'clock, the tide making in our favour, with a fresh breeze from the northward, we hove short; but had the misfortune to find that our anchor had hooked a rock; nor could our utmost endeavours disentangle it from its hold, and heaving rather a strain, the cable gave way, and we irreparably

1788. parably lost it. The ship was immediately
FEBRUARY. got under sail, and passing close to the Iphigenia, she gave us three cheers, which we immediately returned. She had her old fore-mast out, and her carpenters were busily employed in preparing the new one on shore.

The very short time we remained at Samboingan did not give us a sufficient opportunity to acquire any other knowledge of this settlement than such as we received from the general information of others. But as this place is so much out of the way of shipping and commerce, I shall not hesitate to repeat the account I received from the communications of the old padre, whose authority may, after all, be considered as of some reliance, from his very long and continual residence on this island.

Magindanao is an island of considerable extent, being about 120 miles in breadth, and 160 in length, and is blessed with a fertile, luxuriant soil.—The interior parts contain several chains of lofty mountains, between which are extensive plains, where vast herds of cattle roam at large in the most delicious pastures. Several deep vallies also intersect,

as

as it were, certain parts of the country, 1788.
through which, during the rainy seasons, FEBRUARY,
vast torrents pour from the mountains, and
force their impetuous way to the sea. The
rains and vapours which lodge in the plains,
diffuse themselves into meandering rivulets,
and collecting a variety of small streams in
their course, approach the sea in the form of
considerable rivers.

About the middle of the island there are
several lakes of no small extent, of which,
however, we received no other particulars
than that their borders are inhabited by tribes
of savage natives, who live in a great mea-
sure by plundering those who dwell nearer
to the sea. The people consider themselves
as free and independent of the sovereign of
Magindanao, are of a fierce, implacable na-
ture, and wage continual war with the Ma-
hometans, who compose the principal inha-
bitants of the island. They are called Hil-
loonas, and profess no kind of religion, but
live in a state of profound ignorance and
barbarism.

The sovereign of Magindanao is a power-
ful prince, and has several inferior chiefs
who acknowledge him as their head. Ne-
vertheless

1788. vertheless there are others of them who refuse submission to him, and are consequently in a continual state of war; so that peace, at least, does not appear to be one of the blessings of this island. The Spaniards, indeed, assert their right to the entire dominion of Magindanao, but it is mere assertion; for though they have these forts, &c. on the island, it is by no means in a state of subjection to their nation.

The city of Magindanao is situated on the South East side of the island, has a river capable of admitting small vessels, and carries on a considerable trade with Manilla, Sooloo, Borneo, and the Moluccas. Their exports are rice, tobacco, bees-wax and spices; in return for which they receive coarse cloths of Coromandel, China-ware and opium.

This city used formerly to be visited by European vessels of small burthen; but it was a considerable time since any of them had been there. The governor informed us, that the Iphigenia and the Felice were the only European ships that had been seen in these seas during a course of several years.

The

The Mahometan religion is professed 1788.
 throughout the island, except by the Hil- FEBRUARY.
 loonas, who, as we have already observed,
 are governed by no religious principles,—
 practise no form of worship,—and live in a
 state of savage freedom.

These people are called by the Spaniards,
Negros del Monte, or Negroes of the Moun-
 tain, on account of their resemblance to the
 race of Africa, both in their persons and
 manners. They are supposed to be the ori-
 ginal lords of Magindanao, and, indeed, of
 all the Philippines; the *Isla de Negros*, or
 Isle of Negroes, is, in particular, entirely
 peopled by them, where they are at constant
 enmity with the Spaniards. The Mahome-
 tan natives of the island are a robust people,
 of a deep copper colour, and are esteemed
 intelligent merchants.

If the Hilloonas are believed to have been
 the original inhabitants of Magindanao, it
 is very reasonable to suppose that they fled
 to the mountains to preserve their liberty,
 when they were invaded by the Mahome-
 tan hosts, which spread like locusts, during
 the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, over
 the Eastern Archipelago. Their savage ig-

1788. ignorance and barbarous dispositions seem to
FEBRUARY. have become so habitual, as to leave them without the least desire, or, perhaps, without even the least idea of any superior degree of intellectual nature. The missionaries whom the zeal for infidel conversion, so well known in the Roman Catholic Church, employed to preach Christianity to these inhuman people, were instantly seized and murdered by them.

The island is well wooded; many parts of it towards the sea-coast, are covered with impenetrable forests: in others, the woods are scattered with a pleasing irregularity, contributing not only to the beauty of the country, but to its comfort and convenience, by shading the hills and vallies from the scorching heat of the sun. The species of trees that are most abundant, are the teake, the poone, and the larch; but its most valuable and precious growth, is the cinnamon tree, which is to be found in every part of the island, and is of a quality by no means inferior to that of Ceylon. We received samples fresh from the tree, that possessed a delicacy of taste and fragrance equal to any that is brought from thence. Our good friend

friend the padre was so kind as to procure 1788.
us forty young plants of the true cinnamon FEBRUARY.
tree, which were intended for the Sandwich
Islands.

The air of Magindanao is esteemed salubrious, particularly in the vicinity of the sea. The heat there is not, in any degree, so intense as might be expected, in a country which is situated on the very verge of the torrid zone. I do not recollect to have seen the thermometer at more than eighty-eight degrees, and it was very often so low as seventy-two. The prevalence of the Easterly winds on that part of the coast which is washed by the Pacific Ocean, renders the air cool and pleasant, the trade-wind blowing incessantly on its shores. It acts, indeed, with so much power as to sweep the whole breadth of the island; and though in its passage it loses much of its strength, it retains a sufficient degree of force to afford refreshing breezes to the inhabitants of the Western shore. The interior parts are much colder, from a very cloudy atmosphere, which frequently hangs over the summits of the mountains in thick and humid vapours.

1788. The soil, which is very exuberant, is
FEBRUARY. suited to the cultivation of the whole vegetable tribes. Rice is produced in the greatest abundance; a pecul, or 133lb. may be purchased for a Spanish dollar.

The yam and sweet potatoe are cultivated in the highest perfection. Here are also to be found the cocoa nut, pumble-nose, mangoes, the jack, the plantain, oranges, limes, and, in short, every fruit that is produced in climates of the same parallel.—Indeed, nature has been extremely bountiful to the inhabitants, in producing for them the great variety of tropical productions, without any demand upon their toil and labour.

Here are also gold mines, which are supposed to be of considerable value;—and it may be naturally imagined that a knowledge or suspicion of this circumstance first induced the Spaniards to settle on this island:—but as the natives are ignorant of the art of forming mines, they remain unexplored by them; and, as we were informed, little, if any gold has been obtained, but what has been washed down by the autumnal torrents from the mountains which the Hilloonas inhabit, and who are in possession of those

parts which are believed to contain the precious ore.—But these mountaineers are too numerous and resolute to resign a situation they have maintained so long, without a severe and bloody struggle, and the Spanish power is, at present, far too feeble to make any attempt to dislodge them.

Every part of the island abounds with buffaloes, cows, hogs, goats, &c.—It affords also great variety of fowls, and a species of duck, whose head is of a fine scarlet colour. Here are also a small breed of horses, remarkable for their spirit. The natives, however, principally employ buffaloes in the various branches of husbandry and agriculture.

The people of Magindanao universally chew the betel and areka, but make a more moderate use of opium than any other inhabitants of the Eastern seas.

The proas of the Malayans are numerous and powerful; they carry from fifty to two hundred men; and the consequence of their desultory expeditions is bloodshed, carnage, and captivity to the people of the defenceless towns and villages whom they surprize,

1788. or the unfortunate crews of vessels which
FEBRUARY. they may chance to capture.

The village or town of Samboingan is situated on the banks of a small rivulet, which empties itself immediately into the sea; and is agreeably shaded by groves of cocoa-trees. The number of its inhabitants are about one thousand, among which are included the officers, soldiers, and their respective families. In its environs there are several small look-out houses, erected on posts of twelve feet high, in all of which a constant guard is kept; so that it appears as if the Spaniards were in a continual state of enmity with the natives.

The houses are built of those simple materials which are of very general use in the Eastern seas. They are erected on posts, and built of bamboo, covered with mats:—the lower apartments serve for their hogs, cattle and poultry, and the upper ones are occupied by the family. Nor did it a little excite our astonishment, that the Spaniards, instead of creating an emulation and improvement among the natives, from their own superior knowledge of the arts and conveniencies of life, should insensibly sink into
the

1788.
FEBRUARY.

the manners and customs of the very people whose ignorance they affect to despise. But, though their houses have but little to boast, their piety has produced a decent church, which is built of stone. The fort is a very poor place of defence; and is, as far as we could judge, in an absolute state of decay; for the governor's cautious spirit took care to keep us from any particular examination of it.—Towards the land, its whole defence consisted of a simple barrier, with two or three pieces of cannon.—To a very moderate force, indeed, this place would become an easy capture. Indeed, the Felice and Iphigenia might, without any assistance, have rendered the Spanish power very precarious in this settlement.—The military force consisted of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred soldiers, natives of Manila, in which place also, the governor himself was born. They appeared to be in a state of discipline by no means unworthy of the fortrefs which they garrisoned.

Samboingan is the Botany Bay of the Philippines, and crimes of a certain nature are punished there by banishment to this place.—We did not see any of the delin-

1788. quents, but we had reason to suspect that
FEBRUARY. there were several in some kind of close confinement.

Inconsiderable, however, as this settlement may appear, the governor is supposed to clear thirty thousand dollars in the three years of his residence there. This advantage he derives from furnishing the soldiers with cloathing and provision,—from gold-dust, cinnamon, spices, and other contraband goods.

The conduct of the inhabitants was governed by the most pleasing decorum, for which they are solely indebted to the civilizing spirit of the old padre; as his two fellow-labourers in the spiritual vineyard, were rather calculated to deprave, than improve the poor people committed to their charge.—Indeed, the former was of that amiable, conciliating disposition, which is so well adapted to the cultivation of savage manners.—We were equally surprized at hearing a very tolerable band of music, which was composed of natives of the country.—It consisted of four violins, two bassoons, with several flutes and mandolins. This unexpected orchestra were acquainted with
some

some of the select pieces of Handel; they 1788.
knew many of our English country dances, FEBRUARY.
and several of our popular and favourite
tunes; but in performing the Fandango,
they had attained a degree of excellence that
the nicest ears of Spain would have heard
with pleasure. The Malayans possess, in
common with other savage nations, a sen-
sibility to the charms of music, and are
even capable of attaining to no inconsiderable
degree of perfection in that delightful sci-
ence.

The good old priest had also taught the
greater part of the town to dance; so that
the inhabitants of this distant and unfre-
quented spot, possessed two amusements
which are the best calculated to enliven the
dull, or sooth the melancholy hours of life.
On the evening previous to our departure,
the governor, as we have already mentioned,
gave us another proof of his polite and hos-
pitable disposition, by preparing a ball ex-
pressly for our amusement.

About eight o'clock in the evening, the
company met at the governor's house. The
ladies, who were escorted by a number of
young men of Samboingan, were dressed after
the

1788. the manner of the island, which borders on,
FEBRUARY. as we may suppose it to be borrowed, from
the fashions of Manilla. It consisted of a
veil which fell gracefully to the ancles, and
was so arranged as to heighten real charms,
and to make one fancy beauty even where
nature had denied it. The arms alone were
bare; but the folds were so contrived as
half to discover the bosom, while the en-
tire figure, in all the simplicity of nature,
could not be described as being concealed
from the exploring eye.—Their ancles and
wrists were adorned with bracelets of gold,
which gave, as may be supposed, somewhat
of a richness to an appearance that was al-
ready elegant. Many of them were extremely
handsome; nor did certain arch looks, which
appeared to be habitual, though they were
heightened by the dance, render them less
agreeable. The Fandango was performed
in its utmost perfection;—the minuet was
not disgraced by their motions,—and En-
glish country dances, several of which were
performed in compliment to us, have been
often exhibited with far less grace and agi-
lity in many of our best assemblies, than
in this distant and remote corner of the
Philip-

Philippine Islands.—This amusement lasted till twelve o'clock, when all the company retired, with every appearance of the most perfect satisfaction.

1788.

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For such means of innocent amusement, the people are indebted to the venerable padre, who himself joined in the dance. Indeed it would have been not only to the honour of Spain, but of the religion it professes, if such men had been employed, who, like this amiable priest, could make their missions a source of comfort and happiness, instead of accompanying them with that severity of discipline, and cruelty of compulsion, which renders conversion insincere or misunderstood, and is in such direct opposition to the mild and benevolent spirit of Christianity.

The governor, however, with all his civility, would not permit us to land any instruments, in order to make astronomical observations; we were therefore obliged, under considerable disadvantages, to take them on board the ships.

The latitude of the anchoring ground was, by the medium of several good meridian observations, $6^{\circ} 53'$ North, and the

3 longi-

1788. longitude, by twenty observed distances of
FEBRUARY. the sun and moon, taken by good sextants,
122°, 28' East of Greenwich. At this time
the flag-staff on the fort bore North half
East, distant half a mile.

The anchorage before the fort is foul and
rocky : a-breast of the town it is much bet-
ter ; a sandy bottom and well sheltered,
except from the South West quarter, and
even then the wind has not sufficient range
to produce a sea, or to be attended with
any circumstance of danger.

It will not, I trust, be considered as foreign
to the design of this work, if I interrupt the
progress of my voyage, for a few pages, to
offer such observations and notices as I had
occasion to make on the passage between the
Northern Pacific Ocean and the China seas ;
some knowledge of which course, whether
it be pursued to the Northward or South-
ward of the Philippines, must be of confi-
derable use to Oriental commerce, and be
particularly essential to ships that take the
Eastern passage to China, which is occa-
sionally preferred, particularly during a war,
by those who are bound to the port of Can-
ton, in the North East Monsoon.

Nautical

Nautical observations are, at all times, 1788.
of the greatest importance, and we offer such FEBRUARY.
as we have made, to the judicious reflection
of those who may be particularly interested
in them. It must, indeed, be considered, that
although in the track of the Felice and the
Iphigenia across the China seas, along the
Philippines into the Pacific, no dangers were
visible to us; yet others, pursuing this route,
may be less fortunate, as this very track is
generally described as abounding with many.
We indeed found a clear navigation, nor
have we any reason to doubt, but that, with
a proper degree of precaution, ships might
find a safe and easy entrance into the China
seas by Magindanao and the channel of
Basilan.

The Eastern seas are certainly set thick
with perils, which, of course, render their
navigation exceedingly precarious; nor are
the difficulties of it lessened by the circum-
stance that those perils are, in a great degree,
unknown. Ships, indeed, which pursue the
common track across the China seas, with
the South West Monsoon, have not much
to fear, if they do but make the different
islands to procure fresh departures.—Lunar
observa-

1788. observations cannot at all times be taken, a
FEBRUARY. circumstance which should animate vigilance
and quicken precaution ; of which, too much
cannot be exercised in this arduous navigation.

It would, by no means, be prudent for ships to work up the China seas against the North East Monsoon ; and it would, of course, be equally hazardous to work down them during the blowing of the South West. The currents are in such number, and withal so various, that a ship is imperceptibly hurried into the midst of danger, in which the utmost skill and activity will be seldom able, even in copper-bottomed vessels, to escape destruction.

It is true, that there have been examples of ships who have accomplished their voyage against the reigning winds ; but they should rather be represented as extraordinary instances of good fortune, from having escaped a variety of dangers, any one of which might have proved fatal, than be cited to encourage others to pursue a similar navigation : for, besides the risks of a voyage, even if it should be performed under these circumstances, the chances are very
much

much against the possibility of doing it, 1788.
when the monsoons blow strong either one way or the other. FEBRUARY.

As ships, even in the periodical winds, are exposed to dangers, it is essentially necessary that they should, at all times, be provided with a couple of chronometers; by the aid of which instruments the positions of ships may be ascertained; for as they are liable to stop, should such an accident happen to one of them, the portion of time elapsed, may be determined by the other, particularly if they are observed every four hours,—a circumstance which should be an object of the most careful attention. Their regularity also should be examined and proved at every place where the ship stops a sufficient time to make the necessary trial.

There are many recent instances of very fatal accidents which have happened to vessels, during the regular monsoons, from the want of these very useful instruments.

The ship Hornby, bound from Canton to Bombay, in the month of December, 1788, in a gale of wind, fell in with the island Pula Sapata, in the China seas, and was

1788. was within a moment of being dashed to pieces. She was so close to the land, that nothing could have saved her but the violent rebound of the surge from the side of a rock ; when, by being extremely alert in setting sail, she most fortunately got round it.

A Dutch ship in the same year, was lost on the Prata shoal ; her crew was saved in the long-boat, and got safe to Canton.

In the year 1789, and some time in the month of June, the ship Lizard, bound from Bombay to Canton, was wrecked on the Lincoln shoal. The captain and seven men were all which were saved of her crew. After undergoing the greatest hardships and distress in a small boat, they arrived at Canton.

The Argyleshire, a large country ship, bound from Bengal to China, was supposed to have been lost somewhere in the China seas.

The number of Spanish and Portuguese ships which have been lost in these seas also are by no means inconsiderable ; so that too much vigilance and precaution cannot be employed in such an hazardous navigation.

The

The ship Cornwallis, of eight hundred tons burthen, commanded by Captain William Counsell, sailed down the China seas on her voyage to Bengal, in the month of May 1789, when it was to be supposed that the South West Monsoon was set in, and encountered such a variety of shoals, rocks and islands, that her escape was considered as miraculous. And had she not been uncommonly well appointed, and navigated with superior skill and ability, in all probability she would never have reached Bengal.

As the following Extract of a Letter from on board this ship may be of considerable use to future navigators of these parts, no apology can be considered as necessary for the insertion of it:

“ MALACCA, *July 4, 1789.*

“ WE arrived here on the 27th of June, after a passage of forty-five days, from China, which we consider as extremely tedious for so prime a sailer as the Cornwallis. In our passage down,

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F

“ we

1788. " we had an astonishing set to the East-
FEBRUARY. " ward: we could not make either the
" Macclesfield or Pula Sapata. The first
" land that appeared to view was on the
" 28th of May, bearing South West half
" South, distant four leagues, with a reef of
" dangerous rocks and breakers, which we
" supposed to be the Andrades, being nearly
" in the latitude of them.—At half past
" two, P. M. a shoal was seen from the
" deck, bearing South West half West,
" distant two miles; and at four, standing
" to the South East, we were obliged to
" tack for another shoal, bearing South
" East by East, distant two miles. On
" the South East end of this shoal, is a
" low sandy island, on which we saw the
" appearance of a wreck: the weather was
" very squally; during the night we deem-
" ed it prudent to stand under an easy sail
" to the Northward, fearing this chain of
" shoals might extend more to the South:
" the next morning at day-break, we wore
" and stood to the shoals, and at ten, A. M.
" made them. We were then obliged to
" haul to the Eastward and East North
" East, till three P. M. and thus, by de-
" grees

" grees, to clear the different shoals which 1788.
 " presented themselves to our view ; eleven FEBRUARY.
 " of them forming a deep circle or curve,
 " and are backed to the Westward by very
 " extensive branches. They appear to ex-
 " tend from each extreme, East North East,
 " to West South West, and about twenty-
 " five miles in extent : and what adds to
 " the danger in making them is, that they
 " are even with the surface of the water,
 " which if smooth and unruffled, they can-
 " not be seen, there not being a rock about
 " them but the first.

" After clearing this reef, we steered to
 " the Southward ; and the next day found
 " ourselves in a clear sea.

" On the 30th at noon, breakers were
 " seen bearing North West by North, dis-
 " tant eight or nine miles. This reef ap-
 " peared to trend the same as the last, and
 " has dangerous rocks along the edge: its
 " extent is about three leagues: when the
 " reef was seen, we were in the latitude of
 " $8^{\circ} 47'$ North, by a good observation ; and
 " by several sights of the sun and moon,
 " the longitude was $114^{\circ} 14', 45''$ East,
 " which made us seventy-two miles to the

1788. " East of our accounts. After clearing these
FEBRUARY. " shoals, we stood to the South West;
" when, on the morning of the 4th of
" June, at five A. M. a low sandy island
" was discovered with a rock on it: this we
" saw very plain from the quarter-deck;
" and before we could alter the ship's course,
" we were within three quarters of a mile
" of a most dangerous reef of rocks, which
" just presented themselves above the water.
" We had a fine breeze during the night,
" and were going five or six knots an hour,
" but fortunately it died away about four
" in the morning; so that half an hour
" more of dark, or the continuance of this
" breeze, would have been our inevitable
" destruction. This reef trends North North
" West, and South South East, and is five
" miles long. Its latitude is $7^{\circ} 52'$ North,
" and its longitude nearly $112^{\circ} 32'$ East.
" From our providential escape, we called
" the island Providence Island, and the reef,
" Sebastian's Reef.

" The many dangers we have been ex-
" posed to, has made it exceedingly fa-
" tiging:—At last we made the Natumas
" and

" and Anambas, which are both egregiously
 " mistaken, both in latitude and longitude." 1788.
 FEBRUARY

It appears therefore to be advisable for ships bound to China from Europe, if they do not reach the Straits of Sunda in the month of September, to determine on the Eastern passage, in order to avoid the difficulties we have just described; for, though the East-India ships Walpole, Belvedere and Walsingham, arrived in China in the month of November, 1787, it is a risk that can never be justified but by the most urgent necessity.

The Walsingham came up along the coast of Borneo, and was even favoured with a gale of wind at South West, on the coast of the Philippines, but nevertheless escaped such dangers as no prudent man would wish to re-encounter.—The Walpole reached the coast of Luconia, and made a good passage, though Captain Churchill found it equally dangerous; while the Belvedere, Captain Greer, pushed at once through the China seas, though the monsoon was supposed to have set strongly in.

These are instances of good fortune, which are rather to be considered as happy escapes

1788. from danger, than examples to imitate:—
FEBRUARY. for it would surely be much more prudent to determine on an Eastern passage, particularly if Java-head is not reached by the tenth of October.

The straits of Balli or Allas may, in this case, be safely passed, as Mr. Dalrymple's charts are very accurate; from thence the course is continued to the Macassar Straits, employing every necessary precaution on account of the islands and shoals that lie between those straits.

The straits of Macassar are not without dangers, though they are but few, and well ascertained; the Experiment and Captain Cook passed through them, and made very good observations on their passage*. The Experiment, indeed, got on shore, and received some little damage. In the North West Monsoon there is generally a current setting through to the Southward; the waters from the Pacific Ocean and Sooloo Archipelago being confined here, form, in general, this Southerly drift. In the passage of

* These ships were bound on a trading voyage, from Bombay to the North West coast of America, in 1786.

the straits the winds are variable; but when it is cleared, they will be found to the East and East South East; and there is then little or no reason to doubt the being able to reach up under the shore of Magindanao, which is preferable to the island of Sooloo: here, at times, the winds are Westerly, particularly in November and December; the making Sooloo, therefore, would be attended with disadvantages, as the currents and winds might render it difficult to get up to Magindanao, independent of a number of dangerous shoals and coral reefs, that are scattered between Sooloo and Basilan: whereas, between the head of the Macassar Straits and the South Eastern extremity of Magindanao, there is no very imminent danger.—We sailed through this channel, between Jelolo and the island of Morintay, and re-entered the Pacific Ocean to the Southward of this island.

The currents here set South West, and with the wind to the Eastward; it is nevertheless very practicable to reach the island of Basilan, and, of course, Samboingan, where every necessary refreshment is to be procured. We then steered our course to Sanguir, and

1788. those small islands which lie between it and
FEBRUARY. the Southern extremity of Magindanao. These
islands are tolerably high, and well wooded,
and surrounded with no danger but what is
apparent, and therefore may be avoided.
Sanguir is well inhabited, and affords re-
freshments of various kinds. It is also said
to abound in spices, with which it carries
on a trade with Magindanao. We found
Easterly winds to prevail here with very
little deviation.

Between the islands of Basilan and San-
guir, there are several small islets, which are
not laid down in the charts; but we did
not perceive any circumstance of danger
about them.

The passage by Samboingan is certainly
much more eligible than that to the East-
ward of Magindanao. Indeed to get to the
Eastward is a matter of great difficulty.—It
cost us a great deal of time, trouble and
vexation, to reach only the 147th degree of
longitude: besides the track is strewed, as it
were, with perils; small, low sandy islands,
and numbers of reefs of coral rocks are every
where visible, which, during a dark night,
would prove almost a certain destruction;
and,

and, to encrease the hazard, no soundings 1788.
are to be procured, to give any warning of FEBRUARY.
the approaching danger. But, even if we
suppose these rocks and shoals to be cleared,
it would not be prudent to tack before New
Guinea is weathered; and, lastly, the course
to the Northward is to be considered as lying
through those dangerous islands, the Caro-
lines, whose position has been considered as
very uncertain, till it was ascertained by the
Iphigenia, as well as the contiguous shoals;
and, in particular, the Shoal Abregoes, whose
existence was universally doubted, but is
now found to be placed in the track of ships
entering the China seas from the Pacific
Ocean, between Formosa and Luconia.

If the passage to the Westward of Magin-
danao be preferred, there is no danger to be
apprehended, at least that we saw, from en-
tering the channel of Basilan: in the latter,
considerable overfalls will be found, but no-
thing else, up to the place of anchorage
off Fort Caldera. This passage is also by
much the shortest; and, in our opinion,
in every respect equal to that of the Pacific
Ocean, exclusive of the very important con-
sideration of refreshing the crews of ships.

On

1788. On leaving Samboingan, the navigator
FEBRUARY. should hug the shore of Magindanao close on board, as much as possible, as the wind will be generally found to blow off the shore, which is steep close to, and no danger to be apprehended from it. The directions of anchorage are already expressed in the account which has been given of the settlement of Samboingan.

From Magindanao, it will be proper to steer a direct course for the South part of the Island of Panay;—if the wind is not very favourable, it will be necessary to border the coast of the Island del Negros; nor is there any danger to be apprehended from steering close to Panay, as it has a very bold coast, till the West point of the Island of Mindoro is reached: from whence the course lies to the coast of Luconia, where considerable advantage will be received from the currents which run to the Northward, during the period of the North East Monsoon, off Cape Bolinou, from twenty to twenty-five miles in twenty-four hours, and oftentimes as high as Cape Buxadore.

The greatest precaution should be observed about the period when the monsoons change,

—a time to be dreaded above all others in the China seas ;—if, therefore, ships should have reached Samboingan any time in the month of October, it would be extremely proper for them to remain there till the North East Monsoon is set strongly in. After October, the passage to and from Manilla to China is always certain. Even the worst of the Spanish ships, and they are the most miserably equipped of any vessels in the world, work up the coast of Luconia to the height of the island, assisted by the Northerly current; they then stretch over to the coast of China, and are certain of effecting their passage.

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On the whole it is evident, that this route is the safest, as well as the most expeditious; and, at all events, superior to that of the West coast of Borneo.

If the Pacific Ocean should be preferred to effect the passage by stretching to the Eastward, and then tacking to weather Luconia, it would be right to stand to the East till the coast of New Guinea is weathered, and the 150th degree of longitude is reached; when it is probable, that the dangerous groupe of islands, called the Carolines,

1788. rolines, will be weathered; amongst which
FEBRUARY. are included the Pelew, and other low
islands, which are surrounded by reefs of
rocks to a great distance, and are without any
soundings to give notice of danger in dark
and stormy nights.

Between Magindanao and New Guinea,
there are so many clusters of these low
islands, as to require, and almost to baffle
the utmost vigilance and precaution.

When to the Northward of these dangers,
the Bashee Islands may be made, seen by Dam-
pier, or the Island of Botol Tobago Xima, seen
by Lord Anson; but it would be the best way
to make the latter, exercising every possible
degree of attention to avoid the Abregoes
shoal, which is extremely dangerous. When
Botol Tobago Xima is visible, one may steer
without the least apprehension, even in the
darkest night, South West 14 leagues, when
the rocks of Ville Rete will be rounded at
a moderate distance, and the China seas may
be entered by hauling up to the Northward
and Westward. There is a small rocky
islet, bearing nearly East of Botol Tobago
Xima, some miles distant;—and great atten-
tion should be paid that the former may not
be

be mistaken for the latter. The rocks of 1788.
Ville Rete are extremely dangerous; they FEBRUARY.
form in a cluster, and are surrounded by
breakers; the largest of them is about the
height of a small ship's hull out of the wa-
ter: they bear off the South end of Formosa,
South Westerly, five leagues. We thought
that, from the mast-head, we could distin-
guish a channel between them and For-
mosa.

The last time we made Botol Tobago
Xima it was almost dark,—the weather
stormy and hazy; and, very shortly after,
it blew a tremendous gale of wind at East.
We steered South West 15 leagues, and
hailed up West and West North West, and
entered the China seas at midnight, without
seeing any thing of Formosa. The longi-
tude of these places is laid down by us from
good observations of the sun and moon. In
this run, the general account must be laid in
having a strong current setting to the West-
ward, from the moment a ship puts her
head to the Northward.

The land generally made on the coast
of China is about the Pedro Blanco, or
White Rock: from thence, within the
Lema

1788. Lema Islands, is a safe passage to Canton, and no danger of any kind to be apprehended. By this course the Prata shoal, whose dangers are so well known, is avoided.

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If a ship enters the China seas by making the Bashee Islands, her passage to Canton may be endangered, from the strong South-easterly currents at that season. This passage, therefore, is not so secure as the former, particularly as the Spaniards have seized these islands, and established a force on them, though at present of no great strength or power.

The Bashee Islands, however, are bold and safe;—we were here in 1786, and procured refreshments. It may not be generally known that the Spaniards have taken possession of them. But so it is; and a governor resides on Grafton Isle, with about an hundred foldiers, several officers, a few priests, and five or six pieces of cannon, which are mounted before his house; but without fortification or defences of any kind.

Our stay at these islands was so short, as not to afford us an opportunity of attaining any thing but a very general information
con-

concerning them; but, as very few ships have ever been known to visit the Bashee islands, it may not only satisfy curiosity, but be of use to the Oriental navigation, to offer such intelligence as we possess from our own observation, or the information of others.

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These islands, which are situated between Formosa and Luconia, are five in number,—besides four small rocky islets, which, however, are covered with verdure. Dampier gave the following names to the five larger of them: Grafton Island, which is the most considerable,—Monmouth Island, which is the next in size,—Goat Island, Orange Island, and Bashee Island, which are much smaller than the two former. They are inhabited by a race of strong, athletic men, who have been hitherto happy in a soil that produced every thing necessary for their support and comfort:—But we cannot suppose that the happiness these people possessed will find any addition from the yoke of Spain.

Orange Island lies North and South, and is almost inaccessible on every side: it is entirely flat at the top: at the distance of
four

1788. four leagues, on approaching it from the
FEBRUARY. China seas, the peak on Grafton Isle is very
discernable over this high flat. We should
suppose, that the island is fifty feet above the
level of the sea.

On the North of this island are four rocky
isles, called Anson's Rocks; two of them are
within three miles of the North end of the
island.—We entered this passage and dis-
covered no danger: a large ship might even
brush her sides against Orange Island. The
other two stand four or five miles from the
former, and from that passage which Lord
Anson made in the Centurion.

Grafton Island is situated to the East of
Orange Island; stands nearly North and
South, is of considerable extent, being about
thirteen leagues in circumference, and has a
good anchorage on the Western side. About
two miles to the Southward of the town
where the governor resides, is a small sandy
bay, where we anchored in nine fathoms,
about half a mile from the shore; the sound-
ings gradually decreasing from forty fathom
to nine fathoms; but the bank does not
run off more than two miles. The latitude
of the ships position was $20^{\circ} 36'$ North, and
longi-

longitude, by observation of sun and moon, 1788.
122° East of Greenwich. FEBRUARY.

The appearance of this island is extremely beautiful and luxuriant; and the supplies we received very well answered to the charming scene of their production. The natives brought us abundance of the finest yams in the world; with sugar cane, taro root, plantain and other vegetables: we also received hogs and goats in great plenty, but very little poultry. Iron was the favourite commodity of these people, though beads, at times, seemed to possess an equal, if not superior value.—Indeed, since the Spaniards have possessed themselves of these islands, money as well as iron are in use among them. In the time of Dampier, beads were the only medium of their commerce. We left the governor a breed of Bengal sheep, which, when put on shore, roamed in a clover pasture, and on a soil of exuberant fertility. There can be no doubt but that those animals will thrive in their new abode, and that future navigators stopping at these islands, will meet with a plentiful supply.

The water on the island is very fine, in great abundance, and close to the beach; a

1788. small reservoir being formed there, which
FEBRUARY. is supplied by a rivulet that flows from the
mountains.

A Spanish force arrived at these islands some time in the year 1783, to take possession of them; with what view, it is by no means difficult to conjecture, when it is known that they were supposed to contain mines of gold. We certainly saw a considerable quantity of gold dust in the possession of the natives, and several small pieces, which, in all probability, had been washed down by the torrents from the mountains, and found in the beds of the rivulets with which these islands abound.—These, some of which we purchased, were manufactured into thick wire, and worn as ornaments in their ears, or about the necks of the children.

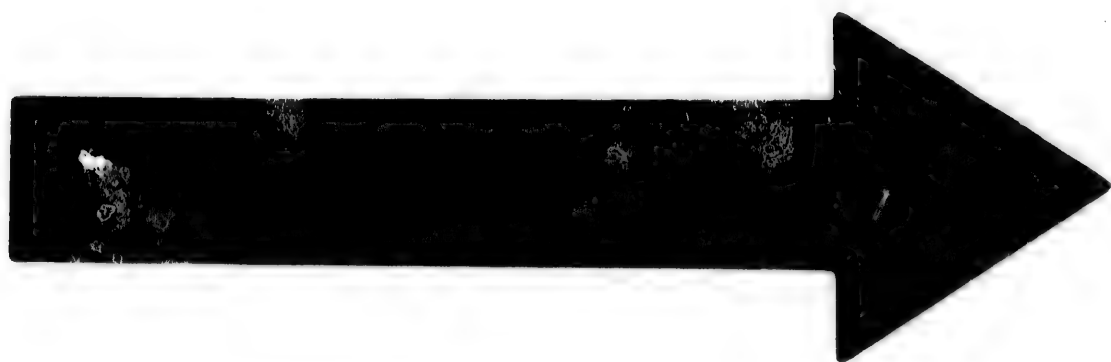
They are well inhabited by a race of inoffensive people; whose chief delight consists in drinking a liquor called bashee, which is distilled from rice and the sugar cane. In the evening, men, women and children meet in crowds on the shores, with torches in their hands, and drink bashee till they are intoxicated, when they engage in dancing,
and

and display every mark of satisfaction and contentment. It is, however, very much to be feared that these islanders must have already found a mortifying interruption to their festive pleasures, from the tyranny and bigotry of Spanish dominion.

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The weather in the South West Monsoon is extremely tempestuous; and when gales of wind blow here, they are of the most stormy and violent nature.

The currents and tides run rapid and strong, particularly along the Southernmost of these islands, all of which are low; it is necessary, therefore, that ships should give them a good birth in their passage between these islands and Formosa.



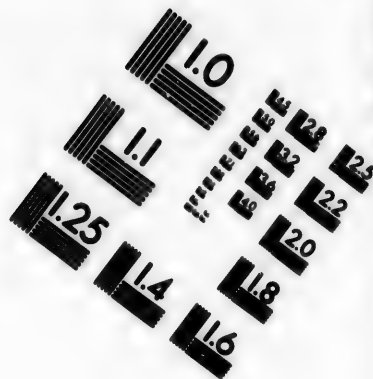
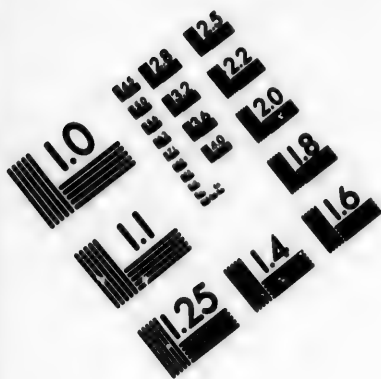
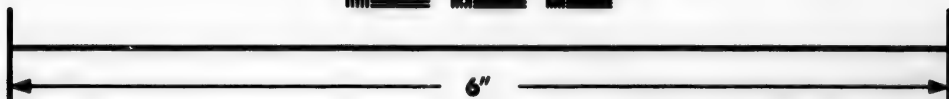
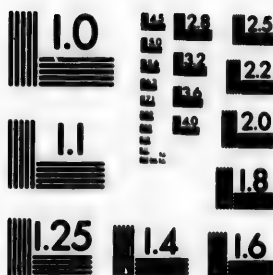


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C H A P. V.

Departure of the FELICE from Samboingan.—Pass the Felice's Isles.—Mention of the Orders and Instructions given by the Merchants Proprietors for performing the Voyage.—Extraordinary Change in the Temper of the Buffaloes received on board.—Pass the Island of Magindanao.—Rapidity of the Currents.—Escape the Island of Providence.—Pass the Talour Islands.—Island of Sanguir.—See the North Cape.—Impossibility of Weathering it.—Invariableness of the Trade Winds in the Pacific Ocean.—Bear up to Leeward of the North Cape.—Pass the Island Riou.—The Channel between Morintay and the Island of Jelolo.—Fragrance of the Air.—Pass the Southern Extremity of Morintay.—Reach the Sea.—The Latitude of Morintay ascertained.

Tuesday 12

ON the 12th of February, at day break, we had lost sight of Samboingan, and pursued our course along the coast of Magindanao: the latitude at noon was $6^{\circ} 34'$ North, and the extreme part of the island in

in sight, bore West North West, distant twelve leagues. The island of Basilan bore from South West by South, to West North West four leagues: in this position the hill we have already mentioned, as resembling a Mandarin's cap, was very conspicuous.

We observed two small islands situated between Magindanao and Basilan, bearing North by East, distant four miles: they were not of any great extent, but entirely covered with wood. As they bore no place on the charts, they were named Felice's Isles.

A considerable current had set us during the night to the North East; the wind blew fresh from the Northward and Southward, and at sunset we could but just discern the island of Magindanao.

Previous to our departure from Samboingan and separation from the Iphigenia, the orders and instructions marked Number II. in the Appendix, were delivered to Captain Douglas, for the guidance of his future conduct. Those marked Number I. were delivered by the merchants proprietors before our departure from China. These instructions contain at large the motives to, and

1788. real objects of, the voyage; and it will not
FEBRUARY. surely be erring from the truth, if it is
asserted, that they do not contain a single
expression inconsistent with that humanity,
or derogatory of those principles which it is
the honour of British merchants to adopt, in
conducting their commerce in the different
quarters of the globe. These orders and in-
structions may be said, without any fear of
contradiction, to breathe, in every part of
them, that spirit of benevolence and justice,
and to contain those honest incitements to
industry, which, in whatever part of the ha-
bitable earth they are exerted or employed,
must ultimately tend to the honour of hu-
manity, and the advantage of our country.

Wednesday 13 On the 13th, we continued our course,
with light and variable winds; the weather
sultry and cloudy. By six in the evening,
we had lost sight of the South Western ex-
tremity of Magindanao; off which we had
perceived an island of a remarkable appear-
ance, that wore the form of a mountain,
whose sides shelved almost perpendicularly
to the sea.

During the night we had heavy rain;—our
course was to the Southward and Eastward;

to

to close in with the South East end of Magindanao, which, on the following morning, we had considerably neared; when we found it to be high and mountainous, and entirely covered with wood from the sea to its summit. We frequently sounded, but procured no ground with one hundred fathoms of line. The latitude at noon was $6^{\circ} 2'$ North, at four P. M. the extreme point of Magindanao in view, bearing East half North, distant eight leagues; we hauled to the East South East to double the Southern extremity.

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Tuesday 14

An extraordinary change now took place in the spirit and temper of the buffaloes which we had received on board at Samboingan. They were so extremely wild and fierce, that it was with great difficulty and some danger we were able to embark them; and so dexterous are they in the management of their horns, that even the natives did not venture to approach them in their new situation. But the natural ferocity of their nature seemed at once to abandon them, and they were already become so tame as to eat out of the hand, and were actually much less vicious than our other cattle.

Friday 15

1788. On this morning, we found that a considerable current had set us to the Southward of Magindanao. It bore from us North, distant about 11 leagues: the Southern extremity formed an high promontory, which wore the appearance of an island.

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We now congratulated ourselves on entering the Northern Pacific Ocean with so little trouble; but this satisfaction was very much diminished from the unfavourable state of the wind, which we found to blow from East North East. The latitude at noon was $4^{\circ} 58'$ North, and the longitude $126^{\circ} 36'$ East of Greenwich. At this time we perceived two small islands, bearing South South East, distant five leagues; and the promontory of Magindanao was yet in sight, bearing North, distant 13 leagues.

The current now set us so strongly to the Southward, that we could not weather the two little isles seen in the South South East; and perceiving a clear channel between them of a mile and an half, we determined to push through it. These islands are lofty, and covered with wood. From the North and South points of the Northernmost island, there runs a spit of land for half a mile; and some

some detached rocks from the Northernmost point, at about a mile distance: on these rocks we observed a few scattered trees, which render them very remarkable. When in mid-channel between the islands, we sounded, and had sixty fathoms, with white and red shells. We had scarce passed through, when the Southernmost island opened into two distinct ones, with the appearance of a channel between them. At the same time, we saw another island, bearing East South East, distant four leagues, which was also covered with wood; and from the mast-head we discerned a dangerous shoal and reef of rocks, which extend near three miles from its South end, and are very remarkable from their whiteness. Another island appeared on the lee-beam bearing South South East, distant eight leagues; and, in this position, the promontory of Magindanao bore East North East, distant 18 or 20 leagues.

Our situation differed, at this time, from every chart in our possession; it became necessary, therefore, to proceed with the utmost precaution through this archipelago. The North Cape on the Island of Morintay, by our account, bore East North East 134
5 miles;

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1788. miles; and the Cape of Good Hope, or
FEBRUARY. Northern extremity of New Guinea, South
East, 470 miles. The wind kept steadily to
the East North East; and as we passed those
islands, we found ourselves drifted almost
bodily to leeward by a rapid Southerly cur-
rent. Such a continuation of unfavourable
circumstances left us no very flattering pro-
spect of being able to weather the North Cape;
besides, we were not without apprehensions
that we should be obliged to bear away, and
run through such a dangerous cluster of
islands as the Moluccas; a navigation which
is considered as the most dangerous in the In-
dian seas. We were not, however, without
some expectations, that the near vicinity of
the Sun to the Line would produce some
abatement of the influence of the North East
Monsoon. But, after all, taking both the
favourable and unfavourable circumstances
in a proper point of view, with the dark and
tedious nights, the course before us could
not be considered but as replete with diffi-
culties and perils, both of which must be
greatly augmented, if tempestuous weather
should unfortunately overtake us.

The

The current, like a vast, but steady, rapid stream, swept us bodily to leeward:—it ran, at least, three miles an hour; and we had every reason to believe, that it ran much stronger as it approached the Straits of Macassar. Indeed, it swept us away so much, that we were not able to reach the island seen in the South East by East quarter, by five leagues.

During the night of the 15th, we had a great deal of wind, but the sea was uncommonly smooth; a certain sign that we were in the vicinity of some great body of land. We kept steering to the South East by East, with a steady gale to the Northward and Eastward. The courses were hauled up in the brails, in order to see more distinctly, and to be in a state of preparation to haul upon either tack, to avoid any immediate or pressing danger. These precautions proved to be extremely necessary; for about midnight we discovered, by the light of the moon, that we were close to an island, covered with a white sand, and almost on a level with the water. We very fortunately perceived this dangerous object, near half a mile from us; and had sufficient time to put

1788. the helm a-weather, and bear up to leeward.
FEBRUARY. We then sounded, but found no ground with an hundred fathoms of line. We continued, however, to give it a good birth until two in the morning, when we lost sight of it, and then resumed our course to the East South East, with a fresh gale from the North East.

These low, sandy islands, which are scattered every where near the Line, render the navigation of those parts of a very perilous nature. No soundings can be obtained to warn the navigator of the approaching danger: so that in a dark night no vigilance or precaution is sufficient to secure him from the imminent hazard of destruction.

Saturday 16 At sun-rise, land appeared, extending from North West to West, at the distance of 16 leagues. The small, low, sandy islet seen in the night, we judge to lie in the latitude of $4^{\circ} 1'$ North, and in the longitude of $127^{\circ} 10'$ East, to which we gave the name of Providence Island. At noon, the latitude was $3^{\circ} 32'$ North. During the last twenty-four hours, we experienced a current that set the ship 33 miles to the Southward. The longitude was $127^{\circ} 58'$ East.

East. Land was now seen in almost every direction, extending from East North East to West North West; and, to the Northward and Eastward, appeared broken and detached, as if composed of a groupe of islands. The Westward land was distant from us about 15 leagues.

At sun-set, the body of the windward isles bore North North East, at the distance of 14 leagues. Our position was now extremely doubtful; nor could we reconcile it to any of the charts on board. We were, indeed, inclined to suppose, that the land to the North North East consisted of those islands named the *Talour*, and the land to the Westward the Island of Sanguir. If our conjectures were right, the currents must have acted on us with great force in setting us to the Southward; and it now became a matter of painful uncertainty if we should be able to weather the North Cape; which was an object of the utmost importance.

We had, indeed, flattered ourselves, that, on our approach to the Line, we should have experienced variable winds; but hitherto the wind stood, as it were, immovably to the East; nor did it seem inclined to give

us

1788. us a point of advantage. Our present situation, therefore, as well as our future prospect, was clouded with uncertainty; and the chance was but too probable that we should be driven to leeward of Jelolo, and consequently be forced to encounter a navigation of the most difficult nature.

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We were fully convinced, that, if the North Cape could not be weathered, a passage must be attempted through the Moluccas, to the Southward of Jelolo, where there was good reason to expect that we should meet, if not the North West Monsoon, at least with such variable winds as would allow us to re-enter the Northern Pacific Ocean by Pitt's Straits; but even then, it was by no means certain whether we should be able to weather the coast of New Guinea; nor could we reflect, without extreme mortification, on being obliged to run down its Western coast, and, by Endeavour's Straits, to reach the Southern Ocean; as such a course, during which the long and dark nights would continually obstruct and delay our progress, must, in the end, totally defeat the purpose of our voyage.—On the other hand, if we stood to the
the

the North, in order to beat round New Guinea, against a strong monsoon, there was every reason to believe that we should fail in our purpose: indeed, we found it necessary to give it up, from the evident impossibility of effecting it, without a great waste of that time of which we had little to spare. These difficulties were of a nature not easily to be overcome; and the event proves how narrowly we escaped from encountering the very obstacles which our apprehensions had placed before us.

During the night of the 16th, we continued steering to the East South East under a press of sail. The moon shone clear and bright, so that any danger round the horizon would have been readily discerned.

On the morning of the 17th, land was seen a-head, bearing in the direction of East, at the distance of 12 leagues; and to leeward, land was also seen bearing South South West. The latitude at noon was $2^{\circ} 40'$ North. The North Cape now bore from us East, Northerly, at the distance of 14 leagues. The wind blew steadily from the North East and East North East, with a strong Southerly current.

We

1788.

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Sunday 17

1788.
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Monday 18

We continued closing in with the North Cape, in expectation of receiving the advantage of a land wind; when, at six in the evening, being within two miles of the island of Morintay, we were obliged to tack and stand to sea for the first time.—We could not find any soundings with an hundred fathoms of line.—But although we were so unfortunate as to fall to leeward of the North Cape, we were determined not to relax in our endeavours, till we were convinced of the impracticability of weathering it; and it was with this view we faced and stood to sea.

By ten o'clock in the morning, we were again close in with the island of Morintay having tacked at midnight for the shore; but neither at sea, or close in with the land, were we so fortunate as to experience any alteration of the wind in our favor. We had also the mortification to observe, that the Southerly currents had set during the night, bodily to leeward of the position we had occupied on the preceding evening. At noon the latitude was $2^{\circ} 35'$ North, and we had entirely lost sight of the North Cape, which now bore East

East by North, distant 17 leagues, immediately in the wind's eye.

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The impracticability of effecting our object was now become so apparent, as to embarrass our situation with a choice of difficulties. We discovered, however, a narrow channel between a small island, bearing South South East, at the distance of four leagues, and the island of Morintay. Jelolo was also very discernible; the Northernmost point of which bore South West, distant only 13 leagues. Between this point and the island we have just mentioned, there appeared an extensive channel; we had, therefore, no other alternative, but to make our passage through it, and round the Southern extremity of Morintay, without risking any more of our time, which was now so precious, in fruitless endeavours to weather the North Cape against winds, currents, and sea.

We were perfectly aware, that, having once entered upon this course, there would be no possibility of returning; as well as that it might entangle us in the shoals of Jelolo and the deep gulph of Chiau-w, which is also filled with shoals and shallows, and

1788. into which the monsoon perpetually blows,
FEBRUARY. backed by constant currents. Such a combination of circumstances were more than sufficient to convince us, that in prosecuting our present design we must be governed by an unremitting perseverance. Accordingly, at noon, we bore up for the channel between the islands Riou and Jelolo; and by four P. M. it was open, and appeared of sufficient breadth to navigate; but in the middle several small, low, and sandy islands were situated, which might, in some measure, interrupt, if not endanger the navigation of the channel; we, therefore, pursued our course along the coast of Riou, at the distance of two miles:—the land was every where covered with wood to the water's edge; but, as far as we could discover, without the vestige of an habitation. We could not obtain soundings with forty fathoms of line.

At half past four, the high mountains of Jelolo appeared to rear their summits above the horizon, which immediately settled the critical nature of our situation. We had now advanced so far, that any attempt to return would have been the extreme of folly;—

folly ;—the channel was already passed, but 1788.
the Island of Morintay extended a great FEBRUARY.
deal farther to the Southward than any of
the charts had laid it down :---Riou was
also passed ; and now a deep, capacious
channel was formed by Jelolo and Morintay,
of near 12 or 13 leagues in extent. The
great gulph of Chiau-w was now under our
lee ;—a range of low, sandy islands, connected
with shoals, were situated about five leagues
off Morintay, in the channel along which
we steered. The moon shone very bright,
or we should not have ventured to proceed
during the night. The wind blew strong
from the North East ; and men were con-
stantly kept in both chains, to attend to the
soundings, as well as on the yards, to look
out for broken water, or any other circum-
stance of danger. As we passed those islands,
the shoals appeared very plain, at the dis-
tance of about four miles, and we could see
a dreadful surf rolling over them. Our
soundings were now from six, seven, to
eight fathoms, very regular, and over an
hard, sandy bottom. On getting more out
into the channel, we had fourteen, twenty,
and sometimes even thirty fathoms, with

1788. the same kind of ground. These islands extend near five leagues, North and South, —
FEBRUARY. are about five leagues from Morintay, and eight from Jelolo. We think it would be increasing the incidental hazards of this channel to pass between the islands and Morintay, as we found a strong and rapid current setting us almost due South.

It was greatly to our mortification that we passed this channel during the night, as we were thereby prevented from sending boats on shore to examine the nature of the soil, and to look for turtle, as low, sandy islands are places where they are generally found. In our passage we perceived the air to be strongly perfumed with spicy odours; some of us even imagined they could distinguish the peculiar fragrance of the nutmeg plant.

As we cleared this chain of islands and shoals, we kept as close to the wind as possible, to near, once more, the South end of Morintay, which we happily effected by
Tuesday 19 break of day on the 19th, being only three leagues from it. We kept steering thus till noon, when the latitude was $1^{\circ} 47'$, the extremes of the island of Riou bearing from
South

South West by West, to South West, one ^{1788.}
 half South, distant nine leagues; and the ^{FEBRUARY.}
 extremes of Jelolo bearing from South South
 West, to South East, distant eleven leagues:
 in this position the channel we had sailed
 through was entirely closed.

Our course was continued to the East ^{Wednesday 20}
 South East, with the wind from the North
 East, but light, till the 20th; when at noon,
 we had, to our great joy, a considerable
 offing towards the sea; the latitude was
 $1^{\circ} 56'$ North, the island of Morintay bear-
 ing from South by West, half West, to West
 by North, half North, distant sixteen leagues;
 and the island of Jelolo bearing from South
 by West to South West, distant fourteen
 leagues. Thus we most happily reached
 the sea, without any material loss of time,
 and through a channel which, in any other
 situation, we should not have ventured to
 pass; though we saw nothing to prevent a
 ship passing it with ease and safety, by fol-
 lowing the example of our precaution, and
 attending to the particular circumstances
 which have been just related;—The bear-
 ings are marked with all possible care and
 fidelity, for the benefit of any navigator,

1788. who, from preference or necessity, may
FEBRUARY. think proper to follow our course.

From Magindanao we had hitherto experienced a continuance of strong currents, setting to the South and South West; the wind invariably at North East; and, in the whole track from that island to Morintay, we have noticed most of the dangers which lie between them.

We consider the Southern extremity of the island of Morintay to be in the latitude of $1^{\circ} 40'$ North, and the longitude 128° East of Greenwich:—The land which was seen on the 16th, must have been, as we then conjectured, the Talour Isles, and the Island of Sanguir.

1788.

FEBRUARY.

C H A P. VI.

Ship's Course pursued to the Eastward.—Currents set her to the Island of Wagiew.—Symptoms of the Scurvy among the Crew.—Wind veers, for the first Time, to the North West.—Pass Wagiew and the dangerous Tatee Isles.—Freewill Isles seen.—Natives come on Board.—Their Joy at seeing Iron.—Some Account of those Isles.—Their Latitude and Longitude, &c.—The strong Currents in their Vicinity.

NO material occurrence happened till the 22d; the course was kept to the East South East; the wind blew steadily from the North East, and we daily experienced a Southerly current. At this time the Northern extremity of New Guinea bore from us in the direction of East South East, distant 120 leagues, when we saw land, bearing East South East, to West by North, at the distance of about nine leagues from the body of it. The land to the Westward we concluded to be the Island of Wagiew, which

Friday 22

H 4

forms

1788. forms the Northernmost part of Pitt's Straits;
FEBRUARY, but of the land to the East we could form no conjecture, as none appeared to be marked on the charts in that direction. The latitude at noon was only 22' North of the Line, and the longitude was $131^{\circ} 10'$ East of Greenwich. At this time the Island of Wagiew extended from South East by East, to West, and our distance from the body of it might be about six leagues.

In this situation we were drifting bodily to leeward on Wagiew, and found it to be almost impossible to double the extremity of this island, much less New Guinea, without some favourable alteration of the winds, which had hitherto never varied from the North East; besides, the strong Southerly currents had now set the ship thus far, so that we were altogether in a situation surrounded with circumstances of uncertainty and embarrassment. We scarce knew how to expect a change that would be propitious; and, nevertheless, a patient expectation of it seemed to be almost the only resource, such as it was, that remained to us. The weather was extremely sultry, but the winds were light, which was the only favourable
cir-

circumstance of which we could boast. A 1788.
persevering spirit, however, sometimes sur- FEBRUARY.
mounts dangers that appear to be insur-
mountable, and we determined to continue
the exertion of it.

This day, at noon, we had made no pro- Saturday 23
gress whatever. The latitude was $0^{\circ} 20'$
North of the Line; and the longitude was
 $131^{\circ} 30'$ East. We were now distant only
five leagues from Wagiew, which extended
from East South East, to West South West.
The land bore a very different appearance
from that which we had hitherto seen:—
it was extremely high, composed of broken
and detached hills, and presented, as far as
we could discover, a very barren aspect.—
It ran due East and West, and all the hills
shelved abruptly into the sea. We could
procure no soundings with one hundred and
fifty fathoms of line. A small island was
also perceived in the North East quarter.

Thus were we approaching every moment
nearer to the land, without any prospect of
such a change as would reward our perse-
verance.—We had now been pursuing, for a
long month, an intricate and fatiguing na-
vigation, without having made any consi-

1788. derable progress. The sultry heats also began
FEBRUARY. to affect several of our people; and the expectation of the tedious passage to America, with which we were threatened, rendered the crew not only dissatisfied, but despondent. Symptoms of the scurvy had begun to appear, in spite of our strict adherence to those admirable rules of regimen so happily conceived, and successfully practised by Captain Cook. We had now redoubled our attentions to keep off the internal enemy that threatened us, with an anxious expectation of success, but we know not how far that would have been gratified, if an alteration had not taken place with us, which enlivened the drooping spirits of the crew, and animated them to new endeavours. At four in the evening of this day, when we were within three leagues of the island, the wind sprung up on a sudden from the North West, which was the first favourable change we had experienced since our departure from Samboingan.

We took an immediate advantage of this fortunate circumstance in our favour; the course was altered to the North East, and
all

all sail set; so that, at sun-set, we had got a considerable distance from Wagiew.

1788.
FEBRUARY.

More land was now seen a-head, which was very low, and, from its detached, broken appearance, we judged to be a groupe of islands. During the night we kept standing to the North East, immediately for the land, and the wind continued to the West North West, which enabled us to keep our course till day-break on the 24th, when we found ourselves within three leagues of the land seen on the preceding evening. It consisted of several islands, as we had conjectured, which were very low, entirely covered with wood, and surrounded by shoals and reefs of rocks, and appeared to be of considerable extent. They bore from North West, to North East by East, and were distant from each other about five miles.

Sunday 24

As no such islands were placed on the charts, we thought proper to name them the *Tatee* Isles, from the word, which was continually vociferated by the few natives who came within hearing of the ship. They are situated in $0^{\circ} 25'$ of North latitude, and in the longitude of $132^{\circ} 2'$ East of Greenwich. They are very dangerous to approach, especially

1788. cially in the night, and the ship that should
FEBRUARY. be tempted to pass through them, would
inevitably be lost.

We saw several canoes paddling between the reefs; and two of them, containing each five of the natives, approached very near to the ship, vociferating the word *Tatee*, *Tatee*, with great violence; but no temptation on our part could prevail on them to come along-side, though we held up many of those articles which we thought the most likely to entice them to a nearer communication with us. — They regarded the ship with much apparent wonder; and, from their various antic gestures, we had great reason to suppose that they had never before seen such an object. They appeared to be of the same race as the Papua people, woolly-headed, perfectly black, and with the features of the African negroes; but in their forms stout and athletic. They held long spears in their hands, pointed with bone, which they, from time to time, brandished at us.

Their canoes were of a peculiar, and very curious construction;—they were very narrow and long, and, to keep them on a balance,

lance, a large out-rigger run out on one side, 1788.
with net-work between, made with strong FEBRUARY.
cord, manufactured from the rind of the
cocoa-nut. On this, which formed a kind
of a stage, were placed their arms, imple-
ments for fishing, &c. We wished very much
to send boats on shore, but as the ship could
not approach near enough to the land for the
purpose of protecting them, on account of
the shoals, we thought it highly imprudent
to expose our men to any hazard:

Towards noon, to our great joy, the wind
freshened up from the North West, when
we bid adieu to the Tatee Isles, and pursued
our course to the Northward and the East-
ward, every league of which was become
of the utmost consequence. At sunset, the
extremes of the Tatee Isles bore from us
East by South, to South East by East, dis-
tant five leagues: the tops of the trees just
appearing above the water. At this time
the extremities of Wagiew bore from South
West by South, to South West by West,
distant 10 leagues.

We now pursued our course till the 27th,
with a favourable, but, in general, a light
wind. It thundered and lightened with
great

1788. great violence, and the weather was extremely close and sultry. The thermometer was, at this time, at 88° , and very often at 92° . At noon the latitude was 56 minutes North, and the longitude $136^{\circ} 35'$ East of Greenwich.—Land, or rather trees, were descried from the mast-head, bearing from East by South, to South East by East:—when we were tolerably near them, the currents ran very strong to the South South West: as we were not able to weather the Northernmost, we bore up to the leeward of it, and there now appeared to be four small isles, the largest of which was not more than five leagues in circumference. We ranged within three miles of the shore, when we observed a large village situated on the shore of the island, in the midst of a grove of cocoa-nut trees; every other part appeared to be an entire forest, without one interval of cultivation.

We were very soon visited by a great number of canoes, containing, altogether, at least five hundred natives, all men. Each of these canoes held six or seven people, and were of the same construction as those of the Sandwich Islands. The natives also bore

1788.

FEBRUARY.

bore the appearance, and to our great astonishment, spoke the language of the inhabitants of those isles; and the result of our observation is a conjecture, amounting almost to a firm belief, that they are of the same race. They came along-side the ship without ceremony and without arms, and supplied us with a considerable quantity of fresh gathered cocoa-nuts and coir line, which was repaid by bits of iron hoop, of about an inch in length.

When the piece of iron was held up to their attention, they were all seized with a kind of silent, but expressive joy, that cannot be described: but the man who procured it, immediately began to caper and dance round the deck, and laying down on his back, tumbled and rolled about in such an extraordinary manner, that we really imagined he was suddenly affected by some very singular disorder, till he rose up and kissed the bit of iron with those emotions of extravagant joy, which manifested the extreme delight he felt at being in the possession of what he esteemed so great a treasure. His comrades, from an anxious curiosity to see it, crowded round him; but in a moment

1788. ment he had plunged himself into the sea,
FEBRUARY. and then turning his head towards us, and again kissing the bit of iron, he swam hastily to the shore. Several iron hoops were now ordered to be cut up, and each of our visitors was gratified with a bit of the precious metal, who all left us with reiterated expressions of the most grateful acknowledgment.

These islanders are of a frank, amiable and confidential disposition; and they found in return, that kind of reception from us, which they will not quickly forget. We observed, however, in their canoes large mats, which, on enquiry, they informed us were used by them as coats of mail, and were capable of resisting the attack of a spear; indeed, so close and strong is their texture, that at a very small distance, they could scarcely be penetrated by a ball from a pistol. It appeared, therefore, and the reflection is not of a pleasing nature, that these amiable people knew the arts, and, of course, must frequently feel the horrors of war; and that the god of battle beholds his victims in the remotest corners of the globe.

This

This groupe of islands was originally discovered by Captain Carteret, in his voyage round the world. He was pleased to give them the name of the Freewill Isles, from the frank and unreserved conduct of the inhabitants. It may not, perhaps, be generally remembered, that one of them accompanied him in the Swallow:—He was called Tom Freewill, and died in his passage to the Celebes.

The interval that had elapsed from the period of Captain Carteret's visit to these islands, to the time of our appearance before them, occupied so considerable a space, that this young man's departure with him, might very naturally be supposed to have been forgotten by his countrymen. But, on the contrary, several of the natives pointed to the ship, and then to sea, and by other significant gestures gave us to understand, that one of them had been carried away. As we were well acquainted with the circumstance from Captain Carteret's journal, we, in return, informed them that their fugitive countryman was no more: when they all entered into an immediate conference, and then renewed their communications,

1788. cations, with an air of perfect indifference.
FEBRUARY. At least there did not appear to be any one among them who, as a friend or relation, expressed the least concern for poor Tom Freewill's fate!

We now resumed our course to the North East, with a gentle gale from the West North West. On passing to the Northward of the islands, we observed that they were connected by very dangerous reefs of rocks, which extended three or four miles in every direction. At sunset, the body of the islands bore North North West, at the distance of four leagues.

Thursday 28 The weather on the 28th became squally; the wind veering continually from North to North East, so that we seldom made good our course better than East, or East by South. At noon the latitude was $0^{\circ} 55'$, the winds light, with heavy squalls of rain, and much thunder and lightning.

Friday 29 On the 29th in the morning, as we were standing to the North, with a light air from the South East, land was discovered from the mast-head; as we ranged up with it, we found it to be the Freewill Isles. This was a circumstance which we could not easily recon-

reconcile; and as the islands in this ocean bear a strong resemblance to each other, we, at first, thought that we must be mistaken; but the point was soon settled by the arrival of many of our late friends, who came paddling through the reefs to bring us a present of cocoa-nuts, for which, they were with some difficulty persuaded to take any thing in return. One man, in particular, held up a bit of iron which he had received from us but two days before, as a token that he remembered his benefactors.

At noon the latitude was $1^{\circ} 7'$ North; and, by a medium of the several distances of the sun and moon, the longitude was $137^{\circ} 10'$ East. The body of Freewill Isles now bore South East half East, at the distance of four leagues; which leaves them in the latitude of $0^{\circ} 56'$ North of the Line, and in the longitude of 137° East of Greenwich.

The currents must on the 28th have swept us bodily to leeward; but, as we imagined, not with so much force as to occasion our falling in again with these islands;—on the contrary, we found that, on standing to the North, for the last twenty-four hours, though we were steering East, our course

1788. was not much better than South, a little
MARCH. Easterly.

Saturday 1

We did not lose sight of these islands till the first of March ; when, at noon, our latitude was $1^{\circ} 40'$ North ; the wind, as usual, veering from North East, to East North East. The weather was gloomy, unsettled, and very sultry. At times, we had heavy squalls of rain, which proved very unwholesome for the crew, from constant damps, a close atmosphere, and wet cloaths. To these unpleasant circumstances may be added, our slow progress to the North, which so affected their spirits, and of course relaxed their activity, that all the attention and care of the officers were requisite, to check the progress of such an alarming evil.

CHAP.

1788.

MARCH.

C H A P. VII.

Extreme Heat of the Weather—Very tempestuous.

—Spring the Foremast.—Loss of some of the Cattle.—Lose all the Goats.—Destruction of many of the Plants intended for the Sandwich Isles.—Reasons for pointing the Ship's Course to the North West, &c.—Mode of victualling the Crew. Occupations on Board.—Intention of Building a Vessel of fifty Tons in King George's Sound.—Carpenters complete her Moulds and Model.—Chinese Carpenters ignorant of Ship-building.—Great Burthen of the Chinese Junks.—Party selected to remain in King George's Sound.—Experience the Tail of a Tuffoon.—Change of the Monsoons.—Terrible Effects of Tuffoons in the Chinese Seas and Northern Pacific Ocean.

ON the 2d of March, the longitude of the ship, by a medium of several distances of the sun and moon, was $136^{\circ} 37'$ East of Greenwich, and the latitude $2^{\circ} 52'$ North. At this time, the variation of the compass was $2^{\circ} 30'$ East, and the quicksilver

Sunday 2

1788. in the thermometer was at 86, and often at
MARCH. 90, so that we suffered very much from the
extremity of the heat.

The currents very seldom allowed us to make our course better than by South East; and hitherto there appeared no probability of being able to weather New Guinea. We had, indeed, conquered the North Cape; but there remained New Ireland, New Hanover, and many different groupes and clusters of islands, to the Northward of the Line, and many degrees to the Eastward of our situation. If we had pursued our course, we must have determined either to proceed through Dampier's Straits, or those discovered by Captain Carteret, which divide New Britain from New Hanover; but if both these passages were rejected, there was no alternative left but to stand to the Northward and Westward; and to endeavour to obtain as much of the former as would permit us to tack and weather all. On a due consideration of our circumstances and situation, the last was preferred; the ship therefore was tacked, and stood to the North West, with the wind at North East,—a point the most distressing to us of the whole compass.

The

The stock of fresh provisions we received at Samboingan was sufficient to last us till this time; a circumstance which was attended with the two-fold advantage of saving the salt provisions, and conducing to the health of the crew. A plentiful allowance of water was continued, as the best preservative against the scurvy; and, if a diminution of this article should be requisite in any part of the passage, we naturally determined it should take place in the colder latitudes, as, at present, an extreme and close heat required every liquid aid to preserve health, by sustaining perspiration.

1788.
MARCH.

On the 3d, the weather became extremely tempestuous. We had continual squalls from the North East, accompanied by deluges of rain, which very frequently obliged us to shorten sail. Our course was seldom better than North West, though we sometimes were enabled to make a tack or two to the East South East and East, when the squall was favourable. In this situation, at noon, we found the foremast dangerously sprung below the hounds; every exertion therefore was required to secure it, as a very heavy sea occasioned the ship to pitch exceedingly.

Monday 3

1788. The top-mast and top-gallant-mast were accordingly got down on deck, and the sails unbent; stages were also prepared round the head of the mast, and the carpenters were immediately employed in preparing fishes.

MARCH.

This misfortune was accompanied with several others of a very mortifying nature. The late bad weather and rolling of the ship, had destroyed some of the cattle and many of the plants, in particular a fine orange-tree, in full bloom; and half of the cinnamon-trees which we had received at Samboingan. There, however, yet remained alive one bull and a cow, and one cow calf; but the goats were all killed in one day by a sudden roll of the ship. Of the plants we still possessed a lime and an orange-tree, in full vigour, with six cinnamon, and several smaller plants of various kinds.

Tuesday 4

On the 4th, at noon, the latitude, by double altitudes, was $3^{\circ} 0'$ North; and the longitude, deduced from the last observation of the sun and moon, $137^{\circ} 59'$ East of Greenwich. The wind blew from the North East, and we pursued our course to the East South East. The weather was dark, blowing

and tempestuous, with heavy squalls of wind and rain, which raised a confused sea.

1788.

MARCH.

It was not till the 5th that the mast was secured, the fishing of which was a business of no common difficulty; and, after all, we were not without the most anxious apprehensions that it would not stand against the blowing and stormy weather we expected to meet to the Northward of the tropical latitudes.

Wednesday 5

Till the 12th we continued to embrace any favourable moments of the wind. Whenever it veered to the East North East, we tacked and stood to the Northward and Westward; and if it veered to the North, our course was bent to the Eastward. It seldom, however, permitted our standing long on either tack; for it generally blew very strong, with heavy squalls of rain. Our latitude, at noon, was therefore but $3^{\circ} 15'$ North, and the longitude $144^{\circ} 25'$ East; and on the 17th, we had advanced no further than $3^{\circ} 25'$ North, and $146^{\circ} 30'$ East. Such was our tedious progress, which, together with a continuance of the most unpleasant and unwholesome weather, tended, more or less, to dispirit every one on board. But this was

Monday 17

1788. not all; the continual damps, proceeding
MARCH. from the frequent rains, and the people being,
from the same circumstance, so often, as
well as so long in wet cloathing, together
with moist decks, awakened our apprehen-
sions to encreasing symptoms of the scurvy.
In this situation, we doubted very much
whether we should be able to weather the
islands of New Ireland or New Hanover,
which bore off us not only East South East,
but many degrees to the Eastward. We had
worked into our present position immediately
in the wind's eye.

Some of the difficulties which would pro-
bably attend the pursuing of our first track,
have already been mentioned; nor were we
to hope for a change from the sun's near
approach to the equinoctial. Tedious calms,
attended with heavy rains, were naturally
to be expected with a vertical sun. A small
portion of our voyage was yet performed, and
an immense track yet lay before us, to reach
to the 160th degree of longitude, when we
must necessarily cross the Line.

According to the manner in which we had
proceeded, we should not, in all probability,
gain that object before the 10th of April;—

on

on the other hand, if we steered to the North West, we had grounds for expecting a change of wind in our favour, if not the monsoon, by the 1st of April : --it was, therefore, again resolved to weather the Philippines, and point our course steadily to the North West.

1788.
MARCH.

With plenty of water, each man was allowed half a pint of spirits in the course of the day, two-thirds of which were mixed with water, and the remainder, at this time, served in its raw state, which often proved a salutary and cheering cordial in the rainy weather. The provisions were ordered in the best manner we could conceive to preserve health, or, at least, to check the progress of disease.—In the morning and evening tea and sugar were served out to the crew ;—they had abundance of rice, peas, and barley, which, with flour and fruit, were served with every possible variety they would admit. The pork and beef were always well steeped, and the constant use of vinegar was called in aid to contribute its share towards correcting the bad effects of salted provisions.

We kept standing on to the North West, and nothing material happened between the last and the present date. The weather was
now,

Sunday 30

1788. now, indeed, become extremely pleasant,
MARCH. and the heavy squalls of wind and rain which had so continually distressed us, were, for the present, entirely dissipated. At noon, the latitude was $21^{\circ} 2'$ North, and the longitude $139^{\circ} 48'$ East; the variation of the compass $4^{\circ} 24'$ East. During this run we every day saw large flocks of birds, some of which we perceived to be of that species which never fly far from land.

We embraced the opportunity which was afforded us by the present favourable weather, to overhaul our sails, and prepare for the tempestuous weather we had every reason to expect in our progress to the North, especially near Japan. Two complete new suits of sails were prepared, new roped, lined and middle stitched; all the old sails were, at the same time, put in a tolerable state.

The coopers, armourers, and other artisans were always properly employed, either in the immediate service of the ship, or according to their skill, in preparing articles of trade for the American market.—The Chinese armourers were very ingenious, and worked with such a degree of facility that we preferred them to those of Europe. The
in-

instruments they employ in their work are extremely simple and they very shortly accomplish any design that is placed before them.

1788.

MARCH.

The carpenters were also at work in preparing the moulds and model for a sloop of fifty tons that was designed to be built immediately on our arrival in King George's Sound, as such a vessel would be of the utmost utility, not only in collecting furs, but in exploring the coast.

Our head carpenter was a young man of much ingenuity and professional skill, who had served his time in London; but the Chinese artificers in this branch had not the least idea of our mode of naval architecture. The vessels of their nation which navigate the China and adjacent seas, are of a construction peculiar to them. In vessels of a thousand tons burthen not a particle of iron is used; their very anchors are formed of wood, and their enormous sails made of matting. Yet these floating bodies of timber are able to encounter any tempestuous weather, hold a remarkable good wind, sail well, and are worked with such facility and care as to call forth the astonishment of

Eu-

1788. European failors. It was, therefore, a matter of some difficulty to turn the professional skill of our Chinese carpenters to a mode of application so entirely different from their own habitual experience and practice.

MARCH.

A party was selected from the crew who were to be left on shore with the artificers, to be employed in building the vessel. This arrangement was made at such an early period, in order that the people might be fully prepared, immediately on our arrival in the Sound, to begin their intended operations. It is true that we had no one article in readiness for the purpose; our timber was standing in the forests of America, the iron work was, as yet, in rough bars on board, and the cordage which was to be formed into ropes, was yet a cable. Nevertheless, encouraged by that spirit of ardent hope which animates man to oppose the difficulties of life, and invigorates life itself, we looked forward with a kind of certain expectation that our purpose would be effected, and that the vessel in contemplation would be actually launched some time in the month of October.

On

On the 1st of April at noon, the latitude was $22^{\circ} 26'$ North, and the longitude $139^{\circ} 38'$ East. The weather seemed to have acquired a settled gloom, the clouds were uncommonly black and heavy, and, throughout the day, there was much thunder and lightning. Numerous flocks of birds passed us from the windward, making loud noises in their passage, as if apprehensive of bad weather. We also passed some rock-weed, which was a sign of being at no very great distance from land.

1788.

APRIL.
Tuesday 1

On the 2d, the thunder and lightning increased, without being accompanied with any considerable degree of wind. The sea, nevertheless, was in an unusual commotion, and the ship pitched so heavy, that the head-rails were carried away, and some other injuries sustained.—Towards noon it became squally, and we experienced several puffs of wind from every point of the compass, which, with the increasing darkness, left us no doubt of the approach of a very violent storm.—The top-gallant yards and masts were got down on deck,—the main-sail furled,—the top-sails close reefed, and the mizen balanced. All the sails were handed, except

Wednesday 2

1788.
APRIL.

the main top-sail, which it was judged prudent to keep abroad: in this situation we waited the coming of the tempest; nor did it disappoint our expectations. At two P. M. the wind shifted to the South, and began to blow strong in squalls: the ship's head was kept to the North East; it thundered and lightened with great violence, and at half past three an heavy squall came from the South East, instantly followed by another from the South West, both of which blew, for a short time, with alternate and incredible fury; the latter, however, prevailed, and continued blowing from the South West for near an hour. Indeed, the meeting of these two squalls to leeward of us, was tremendous, and the sea was carried to such an height as to keep the horizon in a continual foam. Happily for us, we experienced only the tail of this tuffoon or whirlwind; but, as it was, we expected every moment to have the masts shattered to pieces; the main top-sail having been swept away, and frittered to threads.

The sea soon rose to such an alarming height, that it became necessary to set the fore-sail and scud before the storm, in order

to

to preserve the ship, which plowed her way with surprising swiftness. It now blew from the South East with a prodigious sea, before which we kept steering. Thus we were scudding along, when, to the leeward of us, we perceived the water to rise many feet above the level of the sea in circles, which formed a beautiful but awful sight; so that we were obliged to perform the very unpleasant, and, indeed, rather dangerous operation, of heaving to in such a high sea, to avoid running into the dreadful vortex before us, which continued, as it were, to sweep the horizon till five o'clock; when this alarming whirlwind subsided, and settled in an heavy gale from the South West, before which we scudded to the North East.

To those who have read Kempfer's History of Japan, the violence of this tuffoon will not be considered as a circumstance that borders on phænomenon,—such horrid gusts of wind being at certain periods, according to that writer, the common disturbers of those seas: though we had several old and experienced seamen in the ship, who had never before seen any thing of this terrible nature. We, however, consoled ourselves

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with

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1788. with the belief that it was the critical moment when the Monsoons changed; more particularly as the storm from the South West blew in such a steady current.

APRIL.

Had this storm happened when it was dark, it might have proved fatal; as it was, we were not a little surprised that some of the masts or yards were not carried away: however, we were not sufficiently recovered from our alarms, to venture upon setting much sail during the succeeding night.

The period when the Monsoons change in the China seas, and the Northern Pacific Ocean, is a time that should be dreaded by every ship that navigates them. — These changes are generally in the months of April and October, though they sometimes happen not only much earlier, but also much later in the season. That which is considered as most dangerous, is the variation from the North East to the South West, when storms very generally trouble those seas. They are remarkably violent on the coast of Japan; but when they arise into a tuffoon, no power or strength can withstand them. The ruin they sometimes occasion is almost incredible;—nor is it less difficult to conceive

ceive with what fury they blow from every point of the compass.

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The Chinese dread, beyond all measure, these violent hurricanes, which sometimes sweep large villages and their inhabitants to destruction: at other times whole harvests are dissipated by their destructive breath, and famine follows.—From a similar cause, in the year 1787, accompanied with excessive drought, a most dreadful dearth prevailed throughout the Southern provinces of China, by which an incredible number of people perished. It was no uncommon thing at Canton to see the famished wretch breathing his last; while mothers thought it a duty to destroy their infant children, and the young to give the stroke of fate to the aged, to save them from the agonies of such a dilatory death.

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C H A P. VIII.

Land seen, but prevented from approaching it.

—Discovery of Islands, which we named Grampus Isles.—Feel the Weather extremely cold, with the probable Reason of it.—Number of Birds seen.—Pass by great Quantities of Rock-weed.—Discover a stupendous Rock, which we named Lot's Wife.—The Rafter of an House, and a Piece of Canoe seen floating on the Water.—Tempestuous Weather.—Weather becomes stormy as the American Coast is approached.—Cross the Tracks of the Resolution and Discovery.—Error of the Ship's Reckoning, &c.—A Sea Parrot seen for the first Time.—Extraordinary Brightness in the Atmosphere, and to what Cause attributed.—The Coast of America seen.—Princess Royal sails out of King George's Sound.—Distress of the FELICE, &c.—Anchor in Friendly Cove, in King George's Sound.

Thursday 3

ON the 3d of April, the weather became moderate, and the storm subsided; but about noon, the wind shifted to North West, and blew with extreme violence, accompa-

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nied

nied by a strong and mountainous sea. Our
course was to the East by North, under close
reefed top-sails and fore-sail. The latitude
was $24^{\circ} 56'$ North, and the longitude $143^{\circ} 39'$
East of Greenwich.

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Towards night it again moderated, when
we made sail:—the wind now shifted to the
East South East, and we stood to the North
East till the 4th; when the wind fixed itself
in the North East quarter, and we according-
ly stood to the North West, with fine and
moderate weather.

Friday 4

In this situation, land was seen bearing
East North East, distant eight leagues, im-
mediately in the wind's eye, which pre-
vented us from approaching it. Our latitude
at noon was $24^{\circ} 44'$ North, and longitude,
deduced from our last lunar observations,
 $145^{\circ} 41'$ East of Greenwich. We regretted
very much that we were not able to approach
this land, as we knew of none in this part
of the Northern Pacific Ocean. As we were
steering to the North West, we soon entirely
lost sight of it.

On the 5th, the wind shifted to the South
East, which enabled us to steer to the North
East, when at two o'clock in the afternoon

Saturday 5

K 3

we

1788. we thought land was visible to the East
APRIL. South East; but the weather was so extremely hazy, that it could not be ascertained whether it was land or a fog-bank. At three, however, land was seen in the North East right a-head, but the weather continued to be so thick and foggy, that the direction in which it extended could not be discerned. At half past four, we were abreast of it, at the distance of five or six miles, when it appeared to be an island, but of no great extent. It now rained very hard, and the atmosphere remained so hazy, that our observations of the land were rather imperfect. It however appeared to be one of those barren isles so frequently found in these seas.— Its length might be fifteen or sixteen miles from North to South; the shore seemed to be inaccessible to boats, from a great surf beating against the rocks, which terminated abruptly in the sea. The interior parts of the country appeared to be high, and a few solitary trees were very sparingly scattered on their declivities. We sailed along the shores of this island till six o'clock, when another island opened to our view, which was separated from the former by a channel
of

of three or four leagues. It now blew very strong, with rain, and so thick a fog, that we could see no distance a-head.

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Though the gale was favourable, yet, from the appearance of the weather, it was thought prudent to shorten sail, and remain under such as would enable us to haul to the wind on either tack. The utmost vigilance and attention was employed to guard as much as possible against any danger, and we sailed, as usual, all night with the courses hauled up in the brails. These isles, of which we could not discern the number, were named Grampus Isles, from seeing a large grampus spouting up water close to the shore, which is a very uncommon sight in those seas.

The night of the 5th was very tempestuous, with constant rain; but to console us for these inconveniencies, we had a fair gale, with which we made great way to the North East.

On the 6th, the wind shifted to the North West, which brought us clear weather, and blew a steady gale. At noon the latitude was 27° 30' North, and the longitude 148° 37'

Sunday 6

K 4

East.

1788. East. At this time the variation of the compass was $3^{\circ} 20'$ East.
APRIL.

Our progress to the North now became very rapid, and we experienced a very sudden transition from heat to cold. Having just left a climate where the heats had been intense and oppressive, it was very natural the active operations of cold should be very sensibly felt by the whole crew. This circumstance, however, enabled us to reduce the allowance of water from a gallon to five pints per man, without any inconvenience whatever arising from such an alteration.

Tuesday 8

The favourable gale at North West continued till the eighth at noon. The latitude then was $28^{\circ} 58'$ North, and the longitude $154^{\circ} 19'$ East.—Our principal object was to get to the North as fast as possible, in order to benefit by the strong Westerly winds, as well as to run down our longitude in an high latitude. This North West gale continued to us the sharp piercing cold which has been already mentioned.

Wednesday 9

The next day we passed by a considerable quantity of rock-weed, which we imagined to be but lately broken off, and for several days we had seen great numbers of birds,

We

We were now considerably to the Northward of the several small islands scattered either within or about the tropic, in the Northern Pacific Ocean. We could not, therefore, form any probable conjecture from whence this weed came, and whither the birds retired at night, as they regularly left us about sunset, and took their flight to the East.

About nine o'clock in the morning, a sail was descried from the mast-head, and, in about half an hour a large ship was seen from the deck. She appeared to be under an extraordinary croud of sail, and exhibited a very singular figure, for not one of us, even with the assistance of glasses, could make out which way she was standing. The sight of a ship in those seas was such an unusual circumstance, that for some time conjecture was at a loss concerning it. At length, however, it was determined to be a galleon, bound to China from New Spain, and by some casualty driven thus far to the Northward; though the track of those ships to Manilla, is generally between the parallels of 13° and 14° North latitude. In consequence of this opinion, several letters were written to inform

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form our friends in China of our safety, and the progress we had made in the voyage. This extraordinary delusion, for it was no more, continued till we were within two leagues of the object; when, on viewing it with a glass, it was discovered to be an huge rock standing alone amid the waters.—The first among us who became sensible of the deception remained silent, and diverted themselves with the strange conjectures and humorous observations of the sailors, one of whom was so certain of its being a ship, that he was convinced he saw her colours. Its appearance did, indeed, very strongly resemble a first-rate man of war, under a croud of sail; and such was its shape, that, at a certain distance, it held forth to the eye the form of every particular sail belonging to a ship. As we ranged up with this rock, our surprise was proportionably augmented, and the sailors were more than disposed to believe that some supernatural power had suddenly transformed it into its present shape. It obtained the name of *Lot's Wife*, and is one of the most wonderful objects, taken in all its circumstances, which I ever beheld.

By

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By noon we were a-breast of it; when it bore East North East four miles. The latitude was $29^{\circ} 50'$ North, and the longitude $142^{\circ} 23'$ East of Greenwich. The waves broke against its rugged front with a fury proportioned to the immense distance they had to roll before they were interrupted by it. It rose almost perpendicular to the height, according to the tables, of near three hundred and fifty feet. A small black rock appeared just above the water, at about forty or fifty yards from its Western edge. There was a cavern on its South Eastern side, into which the waters rolled with an awful and tremendous noise. In regarding this stupendous rock, which stood alone in an immense ocean, we could not but consider it as an object which had been able to resist one of those great convulsions of nature that change the very form of those parts of the globe which they are permitted to desolate.

This day, at noon, our latitude was $33^{\circ} 18'$ Saturday 13 North, and the longitude 161° East, with a steady gale from the Southward. We passed by a great quantity of rock-weed, and saw several large flocks of birds. In the evening, a piece of timber, which appeared to be the rafter

1788. rafter of an house, and a piece of a canoe,
APRIL. were seen floating upon the water, and soon
after a spar, that appeared to have been
newly cut. These were certain indications
of land, and occasioned, if possible, an added
exertion of vigilance, as this part of the
Pacific Ocean is entirely unknown.

In the evening of this day the weather
became gloomy and overcast, with every
usual appearance of an approaching storm.
It blew strong throughout the night, and
on the following day, at noon, the gale was
considerably encreased. The topgallant yards
and masts were accordingly got down on
deck, and every other precaution taken to
provide against the bad weather that threat-
ened us. Our apprehensions were shortly
realized; for about four o'clock, it blew
with such violence from the South, that we
were obliged to close reef the topsails, and
hand the mainsail. The wind was accom-
panied with small rain and thick weather.
We passed by large quantities of weed; and
the surface of the sea was covered with a
reddish spawn, that extended several miles.
It soon after blew a perfect storm; the top-
sails were therefore immediately handed,
and

and we scudded before it under a foresail, followed by a very heavy sea.—In this situation, we were overtaken by a most violent gust of wind, which made us apprehensive of some material damage.—But very fortunately the topails had been handed in time, and, the foresail being now reefed, we continued to pursue our course. In this heavy gust the wind shifted to the West, and raised a very confused sea, which broke on our decks, and endangered the boats; but, in shifting its point, the wind did not abate its violence, nor did at all subside till the 14th, when the latitude was $36^{\circ} 20'$ North, Monday 14 April, 1788.

It was determined to run down our longitude, as much as possible, in the parallel of 40° North; and, as it was an unknown track, we were not without the hope of meeting with land, previous to our gaining sight of the Continent of America, evident signs of which had been observed by Captain Cook, as well as by us, in this latitude.—Indeed, from the various circumstances which have already been related, it is highly probable that there is land in this part of the Northern Pacific Ocean.

The

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Thursday 17

The tempestuous weather continued till the 17th, when the wind veered to East South East, and blew with augmented violence. It moderated, however, at noon, when the latitude was $38^{\circ} 51'$ North, and the longitude $175^{\circ} 10'$ East.—Though advanced so far North, we this day passed a large turtle sleeping on the water, which, being awakened by the noise of the ship, immediately sunk. Large flocks of birds still continued to frequent us, and the rock-weed became a common object.—We now experienced a great degree of cold, and the morning and evening air, in particular, was uncommonly sharp. The variation of the compass was $9^{\circ} 20'$ East.

Wednesday 23

Storm succeeded storm till the 23d, when the weather broke, and the wind moderated. These violent gales from the Northward and Westward, not only brought with them a biting cold, but also fleet and snow, which made considerable depredations on our stock.—We felt, however, the satisfaction of having fair winds, principally from the South West, from which quarter it blew very hard; but when it shifted to the North West, it increased beyond the power of description,

tion, with a great and mountainous sea. 1788.
We had fortunately embraced a favourable APRIL.
opportunity of bending a new suit of sails,
as the old ones must have been shattered to
pieces by the violence of these storms. The
air was sharp, like that of bleak frost in
England, which more sensibly affected us,
from our long continuance in tropical cli-
mates. Indeed we were not without occa-
sional showers of snow and hail. Flocks of
birds, and large quantities of rock-weed,
continued to encourage an anxious expecta-
tion of seeing land.

On the 23d, at noon, we passed the trunk
of a large tree. Our latitude was $41^{\circ} 35'$
North, and the longitude was $189^{\circ} 25'$ East
of Greenwich. We now began to draw nigh
to the American shore, which was a very de-
sirable circumstance, as, among other pressing
reasons, the ship was become extremely
light, from the great expenditure of provi-
sions and water. We had, indeed, been of
late extremely fortunate in our winds, but
much more so in the health of the crew,
who felt no other inconvenience but what
arose from so quick a transition from heat
to cold.

During

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During the night it blew strong from the West North West, with cold rain. On the morning of the 24th the wind backed round to the Southward and Eastward, a certain prelude of blowing weather; and at noon it blew so hard as to oblige us to hand every sail; and, till three in the afternoon, we suffered as fierce a storm as we ever remembered to have seen, with a greater sea than we had hitherto experienced. There was also continual rain, and the cold did not abate its severity. The rigging suffered considerably, and the ship strained very much in her rolling; nor were we without our apprehensions for the crippled foremast. But, amid this severe and tempestuous weather, we enjoyed the consolatory reflection that we were every moment approaching nearer to the destined port.

Friday 25

On the 25th the weather moderated, and the wind veered to the West North West. The latitude, at noon, was 43° North, and the longitude by account, $196^{\circ} 28'$ East. It blew a strong gale from the West South West, with clear weather; and we made good our course to the East North East, running seldom less than fifty leagues a day,

day. From the 23d we had experienced a continual succession of gales. We were occasionally favoured with an hour or two of clear weather, which was always succeeded by a return of storm; so that we were never able to set more than a close-reefed topsail. —Our run was no less than 230 leagues in this short period. Indeed the weather not only continued to be cold and comfortless, but was, at times, so very cloudy, that we found no opportunity of taking any lunar observations, in order to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, the run of the ship.

The same weather continued, and we pursued our course without any novelty of situation or circumstance, till the 30th, when a second spar passed by, which from its appearance, and a notch that had been recently cut in one end of it, could not have been long in the water.—The birds had forsaken us in the beginning of the late tempestuous weather, and we no longer saw the floating rock-weed, which had, for some time past, been a daily object.

We had now twice crossed the tracks of the Resolution and the Discovery in these seas: that on their return from the Coast

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Wednesday 30

MAY.

Thursday 1

1788. of Japan to China, and their later track
MAY. from Oonalashka to the Sandwich Islands. Captain Cook had formed some slight conjecture of there being land between these tracks and the coast of America, and our present course running directly through that part of the sea, it is most probable that we should have discovered it, if there had been any so contiguous to the American shore.

On our entrance into the month of May, the weather became not only moderate but pleasant:—the wind blew from the South, and we pursued our course to the Eastward. The latitude, at noon, was $46^{\circ} 5'$ North, and the longitude, by a medium of several distances of the sun and moon, only $212^{\circ} 5'$ East of Greenwich; whereas, by account, we were in $221^{\circ} 41'$ East.—This material difference must have arisen from the variety of contrary currents we experienced in the low latitudes, as well as those which may be supposed to have set us to the Westward, on our tacking to the North. We had every reason, therefore, to conjecture that we must have approached the vicinity of Japan; and that we accomplished our passage to the North between the islands of Ladrone and the
the

the New Carolines. The variation of the compass we now found to be $21^{\circ} 18'$ East.

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MAY.

Sunday 4

The wind continued to be favourable, though it occasionally blew in strong squalls. The latitude, at noon, was $48^{\circ} 10'$ North; and the longitude, deduced from the last observations, $223^{\circ} 22'$ East. In the beginning it became foggy, and blew from the South South West in heavy squalls, which obliged us to heave to, for the first time, under the reefed forefail. However, as it moderated in the morning, we bore up, and pursued our course to the Eastward.

We experienced a strong gale till the 7th, Wednesday 7 when, at noon, the latitude was $49^{\circ} 28'$ North, and the longitude, by a medium of several distances of the sun and moon, $228^{\circ} 26'$ East.

On this day, at noon, the latitude was Thursday 8 $49^{\circ} 28'$ North. In the evening we saw a sea-parrot, and passed a piece of drift-wood. We had frequent squalls of hail and snow, but the weather was more moderate than we had known it for some time.

On the 10th, the latitude was $49^{\circ} 32'$; Saturday 10 and the longitude, by the medium of several sights, $230^{\circ} 52'$ East, and only 3° from King

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MAY.

George's Sound. We kept running, during the night, under a press of sail, directly in for the American coast. The whole atmosphere was in a state of illumination, which we attributed to the reflection of vast mountains of snow on the continent: nor were we mistaken; for, on the morning of the 11th of May, the long-wished for land of America appeared, bearing East by South, at the distance of 13 leagues. It consisted of a ridge of mountains, whose summits were hid in the clouds. This land might be seen thirty leagues in clear weather. As we closed in with it in the evening, the vapours cleared away from the tops of the mountains. At noon the latitude was, by double altitudes, $49^{\circ} 35'$ North, and King George's Sound bore nearly East of us. We kept standing in for the land, and when within four leagues of it, the wind veered to the South East by East, which obliged us to tack and stand to sea, the wind blowing almost immediately out of the Sound, which we now plainly discerned.

Sunday 11

A vessel was now seen under the weather land of the Sound, bearing down to us; but as we were under a press of sail, and night coming

coming on, we could not speak to her, without much inconvenience; but we nevertheless knew her to be the Princess Royal, of London, on a trading voyage for the furs of America.

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The night of the 11th was a dreadful one; such heavy gusts and squalls of wind succeeded each other, that we were prevented from carrying any sail. These squalls brought hail and snow along with them; and, towards midnight, it blew a perfect storm. When the morning broke, we had lost sight of land, and the ship had strained so much, that we had six feet water in the hold, with two pumps disabled; nor did this gale moderate till the 12th at noon, when the ship was wore, and we stood in for the land, bailing the water from the hold, which was rather encreasing on us. The latitude was $49^{\circ} 26'$ North. We therefore kept standing in for the land till seven o'clock in the evening, when that comfortable object was again very clearly discerned: but we had another mortification to suffer, for we found that the late storm had blown us to leeward of the Sound. We were therefore under the provoking necessity of tacking once more,

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MAY.

and standing out to sea, with the wind at North North West; the Sound bearing North East, at the distance of seven leagues.

The night of the 12th was so tempestuous, that we were obliged to lay to under the reefed forefail, all the crew being employed in bailing the water out of the hold; as it was not in our power to refit the pumps for immediate service.

Tuesday 13

On the morning of the 13th the wind veered to the South by East, blowing as hard as ever, with heavy rain, when the ship was wore, and her head pointed in for the land. About eight it moderated, when sail was immediately made, and, by ten o'clock, we happily anchored in Friendly Cove, in King George's Sound, a-breast of the village of Nootka, in four fathoms water, and within an hundred yards of the shore, after a passage of three months and twenty-three days from China.— The reader who has accompanied us through our long, difficult, and harassed voyage, will easily conceive the grateful joy we experienced on our arrival in safety at the harbour which we had sought with such continued toil, and through such various dangers.

It cannot be thought improper, as I trust it will not prove altogether useless, to offer such observations as occurred to me on the passage from China to the North West Coast of America.

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MAY.

It would not be prudent for ships bound to America, to pursue our route, if they are not ready for sea by the middle of November, or the 10th of December at farthest. The long and heavy delay we met with, after leaving Samboingan, is the best proof of the difficulties we found in getting to the Eastward at this period of our voyage; when the currents also run more rapid, and the season is more tempestuous, as we have reason to believe, than in the months of November and December.

It had been our intention, at one time, to perform this voyage by sailing round New Holland, and stretching sufficiently to the East, to fetch the Sandwich Islands previous to our making the coast of America; or we had the choice of pushing through Endeavour Straits, and performing the same point; but this latter course was rejected on account of the dangerous archipelago of islands scattered to the Eastward of those straits; and

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MAY.

the former was abandoned from the circuitry of its navigation, which would demand a much longer time than we could spare: it was accordingly conjectured, that if a passage was attempted through the Sooloo Archipelago, then stretching to the Eastward, to weather New Guinea, New Ireland, and New Hanover,—and again tacking to the Northward, to obtain the Westerly winds, that we should have a quick and easy passage opened to America.

The event proved that we had judged rightly in adopting the last;—but, in my opinion, a still easier and much better passage is now opened to America; and it is submitted whether, in future, it would not be preferable for ships bound there, to effect their way by the passage between Luconia and Formosa. This opinion is not the fanciful result of vague conjecture, but has, as I conceive, somewhat of an experimental foundation on the following circumstances:—

On our arrival with the *Felice* in China, in the autumn of 1788, the agent of the merchants in England, and the agent of the merchants in India, formed an union of interests, and associated themselves under
a joint

a joint stock, to carry on the fur trade of America. They accordingly equipped a ship called the Argonaut, under the direction of Mr. Colnet, a lieutenant in his Majesty's navy, and who had commanded in the years 1787 and 1788, the ship Prince of Wales of London, belonging to the merchants trading to America. This ship had performed her voyage to the coast, and returned to China with a valuable cargo of furs in 1788, and from thence to England, laden with teas on account of the East India Company. Mr. Colnet quitted the Prince of Wales in China, to command the Argonaut, and take charge of the associated merchants property on the coast of America. Of his nautical abilities I shall only observe, that they are such as to receive no addition to their reputation from any testimony of mine: he accordingly prepared the Argonaut for sea, and the Princess Royal of London, a vessel belonging to the same commercial society.

These ships were not ready for sea till the 17th of April, 1789; when, on comparing the tracks of the Felice and the Iphigenia, and the time they met the Monsoon

or

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1788. or Westerly winds in the Northern Pacific
May. Ocean, it was thought that the passage to
America might be effected between Lu-
conia and Formosa, with greater ease and
expedition than by pursuing the track by
Magindanao.

The Princess Royal therefore sailed in
February, and did not reach the coast of
America in less than sixteen weeks: but
the tardiness of her voyage arose from her
being a very heavy sailer, and not copper-
bottomed.—Whereas the Argonaut, who
was both sheathed with copper and a prime
sailer, left China the 26th of April, 1789,
and arrived in King George's Sound the 3d
of July following; which was a passage that
exceeded our most sanguine expectations.

The future navigator from China to Ame-
rica, is here presented with four different
tracks of that voyage. But if it should be
my lot to be again engaged in it, I should
leave China early in the month of March,
and endeavour to make a passage between
Luconia and Formosa, in order to gain the
Pacific Ocean, where, at that season, variable
winds might be expected to the Northward
of 20°; and when the violence of the North
East

East Monsoon would also be much abated in the China seas. Indeed, in the month of April, there would be almost a certainty of meeting the South West Monsoon or Westerly winds in the latitude of 25° or 30° North, which prevail there, and blew us home to the American shore.

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On leaving Canton, great care should be taken to work some distance up the coast of China, between the Lema Isles, and as high as Pedro Blanco, or the White Rock, before the China sea is crossed for Formosa: but no passage, I think, should be attempted between the rocks of Ville Rete and the South end of Formosa, except during the day, in clear weather, and with the appearance of a free channel.

CHAP.

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MAY.

CHAP. IX.

The commodious Situation of Friendly Cove, in King George's Sound.—Great Numbers of the Natives assemble to view the Ship.—The Joy of Comekela on his Arrival, &c.—Hannapa, a Chief, comes on board.—Comekela prepares to go on Shore.—His Dress, &c.—Employments of the Crew.—The Arrival of Maquilla, Chief of King George's Sound, with Callicum, a Person the next in Rank to him.—A Description of their Dresses, and the Ceremonies they practised on seeing the Ship.—Leave obtained to build an House and Vessel.—Callicum attaches himself to the Ship and is appointed Protector of the Party on Shore, by Maquilla.—An House built.—Keel of a Vessel laid.—Some Account of the Murder of Callicum by the Spaniards, in the following Year.

THE ship had been moored but a very short time, when it began to blow a tempestuous gale of wind, with very heavy rain ; the commodious situation, therefore, of
of

of Friendly Cove, made us truly sensible of our good fortune, in being thus securely placed in a protecting haven, where neither storm or tempest could alarm our fears or trouble our repose.

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MAY.

Our earliest attention was invited to a multitude of the natives, assembled on the banks in front of the village, in order to take a view of the ship. Comekela, who several days had been in a state of the most anxious impatience, now enjoyed the inexpressible delight of once more beholding his native land, to which he returned with the conscious pride of knowledge acquired by his voyage, and in the possession of those articles of utility or decoration, which would create the wonder, and encrease the respect of his nation. His joy, however, received no inconsiderable interruption from the absence of his brother Maquilla, the chief of King George's Sound, and his relation Callicum, who stood next in rank to the sovereign. These chiefs were, at this time, on a visit of ceremony to Wicananish, a powerful prince of a tribe to the Southward. Of this circumstance we were informed by Hannapa, who in the absence of the two superior

1788. superior chiefs was left in power at Nootka,
MAY. and who was come on board to pay us a visit.

At this time Comekela was dressed in a scarlet regimental coat, decorated with brass buttons,—a military hat set off with a flaunting cockade, decent linens, and other appendages of European dress, which was far more than sufficient to excite the extreme admiration of his countrymen. Nor was Hannapa insensible to the appearance of Comekela; for he regarded him not only with the most prying attention, but also with striking expressions of that envy which is a very prevalent passion among the natives of this part of America.

In a short time the ship was surrounded with a great number of canoes, which were filled with men, women and children; they brought also considerable supplies of fish, and we did not hesitate a moment to purchase an article so very acceptable to people just arrived from a long and toilsome voyage.

In the evening the weather cleared up, and Comekela prepared to go on shore. The news of his intention was soon communicated to the village, which immediately poured

poured forth all its inhabitants to welcome him to his native home. 1788.

MAY.

Comekela had now arrayed himself in all his glory. His scarlet coat was decorated with such quantities of brass buttons and copper additions of one kind or other, as could not fail of procuring him the most profound respect from his countrymen, and render him an object of the first desire among the Nootka damsels. At least half a sheet of copper formed his breast-plate; from his ears copper ornaments were suspended, and he contrived to hang from his hair, which was dressed *en queue*, so many handles of copper saucepans, that his head was kept back by the weight of them, in such a stiff and upright position, as very much to heighten the singularity of his appearance. For various articles of his present pride Comekela had been in a state of continual hostility with the cook, from whom he had contrived to purloin them; but their last and principal struggle was for an enormous spit, which the American had seized as a spear, to swell the circumstance of that magnificence with which he was on the moment of dazzling the eyes of his countrymen;—and situated

1788. situated as we were, this important article of
MAY. culinary service could not be denied him. In
such a state of accoutrement, and feeling as
much delight as ever fed the pride of the
most splendid thrones of Europe or the East,
we set out with him for the shore, when a
general shout and cry from the village as-
sured him of the universal joy which was
felt on his return.

The whole body of inhabitants moved
towards the beach, and with a most unplea-
sant howl, welcomed him on shore. At the
head of them appeared his aunt, an old
woman of about eighty years of age, and,
from her appearance, might have been sup-
posed to have lived in a continual state of
filth and dirtiness from her birth to the mo-
ment in which we beheld such a disgusting
object. She embraced her nephew with
great affection, and shed the scalding rheum
of her eyes on the cheek of Comekela.

After the first ceremonies of welcome were
over, and the first gaze of admiration satis-
fied, the whole company proceeded to the
king's house, into which persons of rank
were alone permitted to enter, and where a
magnificent feast of whale blubber and oil

1788.

MAY.

was prepared : the whole company sat down with an appetite well suited to the luxuries of the banquet: even the little children drank the oil with all the appearance of extreme gratification ; but Comekela's taste seemed to have been in some degree vitiated by the Indian and European cookery, and he did not enjoy his native delicacies with the same voracious gluttony as if his stomach had never known the variety of other food than that of Nootka. The evening was passed in great rejoicing ; their songs and dancing continued during the greatest part of the night. We returned on board early in the evening ; but we heard for a long time after the sound of their festivity.

Nootka is situated on a rising bank, which fronts the sea, and is backed and skirted with woods*. In Friendly Cove the houses are large, and in the common fashion of the country. Each of these mansions accommodates several families, and is divided into partitions, in the manner of an English

* A particular account of the village or town of Nootka, is reserved for that part of this volume which will treat at large of the commerce, geography, &c. of the North West Coast of America.

1788. stable, in which all kinds of dirt, mixed
MAY. with blubber, oil and fish, are discovered by
more senses than one, to form a mass of
undesirable filthiness.

Wednesday 14 On the 14th, the weather was sufficiently fair to admit of our dispatching a party on shore to erect a tent for the wooders and waterers, as well as one for the sail-makers. For this purpose a spot was chosen at a small distance from the village, and contiguous to a rivulet. The rest of the crew were employed in unreefing the running rigging, unbending the sails, and the other necessary duties of the ship.

Friday 16 On the 16th, a number of war canoes entered the cove, with Maquilla and Callicum; they moved with great parade round the ship, singing at the same time a song of a pleasing though sonorous melody:—there were twelve of these canoes, each of which contained about eighteen men, the greater part of whom were cloathed in dresses of the most beautiful skins of the sea otter, which covered them from their necks to their ancles. Their hair was powdered with the white down of birds, and their faces bedaubed with red and black ochre, in the form

form of a shark's jaw, and a kind of spiral line, which rendered their appearance extremely savage. In most of these boats there were eight rowers on a side, and a single man sat in the bow. The chief occupied a place in the middle, and was also distinguished by an high cap, pointed at the crown, and ornamented at top with a small tuft of feathers.

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MAY.

We listened to their song with an equal degree of surprise and pleasure. It was, indeed, impossible for any ear susceptible of delight from musical sounds, or any mind that was not insensible to the power of melody, to remain unmoved by this solemn, unexpected concert. The chorus was in unison, and strictly correct as to time and tone; nor did a dissonant note escape them.— Sometimes they would make a sudden transition from the high to the low tones, with such melancholy turns in their variations, that we could not reconcile to ourselves the manner in which they acquired or contrived this more than untaught melody of nature.— There was also something for the eye as well as the ear; and the action which accompanied their voices, added very much to

1788. the impresson which the chaunting made
MAY. upon us all. Every one beat time with undeviating regularity, against the gunwale of the boat, with their paddles ; and at the end of every verse or stanza, they pointed with extended arms to the North and the South, gradually sinking their voices in such a solemn manner, as to produce an effect not often attained by the orchestras in our quarters of the globe.

They paddled round our ship twice in this manner, uniformly rising up when they came to the stern, and calling out the word *wacush*, *wacush*, or friends. They then brought their canoes along-side, when Maquilla and Callicum came on board. The former appeared to be about thirty years, of a middle size, but extremely well made, and possessing a countenance that was formed to interest all who saw him. The latter seemed to be ten years older, of an athletic make, and a fine open arrangement of features, that united regard and confidence. The inferior people were proper and very personable men. A seal-skin filled with oil was immediately handed on board, of which the chiefs took a small quantity, and then ordered it to be

returned to the people in the canoes, who soon emptied the vessel of this luxurious liquor.

1788.
MAY.

A present, consisting of copper, iron, and other gratifying articles, was made to Maquilla and Callicum, who, on receiving it, took off their sea-otter garments, threw them, in the most graceful manner, at our feet, and remained in the unattired garb of nature on the deck.—They were each of them in return presented with a blanket, when, with every mark of the highest satisfaction, they descended into their canoes, which were paddled hastily to the shore.

The manner in which these people give and receive presents is, we believe, peculiar to themselves. However costly the gift may be in their own eyes, they wish to take away all idea of conferring any obligation on the receiver of it. We have seen two chiefs meet on a visit of ceremony provided with presents of the richest furs, which they flung before each other with an air that marked the most generous friendship, and rivalled that amiable interchange of kindness which distinguishes the more polished nations of the world.

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MAY.
Saturday 25

From the time of our arrival at Nootka to the 25th, we had much bad weather; but that circumstance, however unpleasant, did not prevent us from engaging in the different operations we had in view. Maquilla had not only most readily consented to grant us a spot of ground in his territory, whereon an house might be built for the accommodation of the people we intended to leave there, but had promised us also his assistance in forwarding our works, and his protection of the party who were destined to remain at Nootka during our absence. In return for this kindness, and to ensure a continuance of it, the chief was presented with a pair of pistols, which he had regarded with an eye of solicitation ever since our arrival. Callicum, who seemed to have formed a most affectionate attachment to us, was also gratified, as well as the ladies of his family, with suitable presents: it indeed became our more immediate attention to confirm his regard, as he had been appointed by Maquilla to be our particular guardian and protector, and had the most peremptory injunctions to prevent the natives from making any depredations on us.

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MAY.

But however disposed we might be to rely on the friendship of these chiefs, we thought it prudent, during the negotiation between us, to inform them of our power, by explaining the force we possessed, and the mode of applying it, in case they should at any time change their present dispositions towards us. We wished to operate on their fears as well as their gratitude, in order to secure, with greater certainty, the object of our voyage.

Great advances were made in building the house, which on the 28th was completely finished. In the very expeditious accomplishment of this important work, the natives afforded us all the assistance in their power, not only by bringing the timber from the woods, but by readily engaging in any and every service that was required of them. When the bell rung for our people to leave off work in the evening, the native labourers were always assembled to receive their daily pay, which was distributed in certain proportions of beads or iron. Such a proceeding on our part, won so much upon their regard and confidence, that we could not find em-

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ployment

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1788. ployment for the numbers that continually
MAY. solicited to engage in our service.

The house was sufficiently spacious to contain all the party intended to be left in the Sound.—On the ground-floor there was ample room for the coopers, sail-makers, and other artizans to work in bad weather: a large room was also set apart for the stores and provisions, and the armourer's shop was attached to one end of the building and communicated with it. The upper-story was divided into an eating-room and chambers for the party. On the whole, our house, though it was not built to satisfy a lover of architectural beauty, was admirably well calculated for the purpose to which it was destined, and appeared to be a structure of uncommon magnificence to the natives of King George's Sound.

A strong breast-work was thrown up round the house, enclosing a considerable area of ground, which, with one piece of cannon, placed in such a manner as to command the cove and village of Nootka, formed a fortification sufficient to secure the party from any intrusion. Without this breast-work, was laid the keel of a vessel of

40 or 50 tons, which was now to be built agreeable to our former determinations.

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JUNE.

By the 5th of June, our operations were considerably advanced; the ships had been caulked, the rigging repaired, and the sails were overhauled;—stone ballast had been received on board, as we found the danger of sand ballast, on account of its choaking the pumps, and the ship was wooded, watered, and got ready for sea. All this various and necessary business was done, though the weather had been very indifferent from the time of our arrival, having had almost continual heavy rains, with southerly winds. These rains had entirely washed the snow from off the ground, and except on the summits of the mountains and the higher hills, small patches of it only were now to be seen; but vegetation was still very backward, and changed but by a very gentle gradation the dreary appearance of the country on our arrival.

Thursday 5

The party destined to remain on shore were busily employed in their various occupations: some were engaged in bringing the timber from the woods at a great distance, and through a thick forest of very difficult

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JUNE.

difficult passage; others in sawing and shaping it for the several purposes to which it was to be applied, while the armourers were busy in making bolts, nails, &c. ready for use, or forging iron into the necessary articles of trade; so that, by proceeding on a system of order and regularity, we had, in a very little time, formed our new dock-yard, in which the carpenters had already laid the keel, and raised, bolted and fixed the stern and stern-post; so that expectation had but a little while to look forward, till it would be gratified in seeing this vessel fit for the service to which it was destined.

If histories of navigation were written merely to amuse the leisure hours of the rich, or to satisfy the eager enquiries of the philosopher, much of the minute parts of such a work as this would be necessarily omitted, as unentertaining to the one, or beneath the notice of the other; but narratives of voyages are applicable to other purposes; and, if they should not prove instructive to future navigators—if they should not tend to aid and facilitate the progress of commercial enterprize, the difficulties and dangers of such voyages must have been
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encountered in vain, and the time employed in writing an account of them be added to the waste of life.

1788.

JUNE.

The good harmony and friendly intercourse which subsisted between us and the natives, will, we trust, be considered as a proof that our conduct was regulated by the principles of humane policy; while the generous and hospitable demeanour of our faithful allies will convey a favourable idea of their character, when treated with that kindness which unenlightened nature demands, and is the true object of commercial policy to employ.

The various offices of personal attachment which we received from many individuals of these people, were sufficient to convince us that gratitude is a virtue well known on this distant shore,—and that a noble sensibility to offices of kindness was to be found among the woods of Nootka. Callicum possessed a delicacy of mind and conduct which would have done honour to the most improved state of our civilization; a thousand instances of regard and affection towards us might be related of this amiable man, who is now no more; and the only

1788. return that we can make for his friendship
JUNE. is to record it, with every expression of horror and detestation of that inhuman and wanton spirit of murder, which deprived his country of its brightest ornament, the future navigator of a protecting friend,—and drove an unoffending and useful people from their native home, to find a new habitation in the distant desert*.

* This amiable chief was shot through the body in the month of June, 1789, by an officer on board one of the ships of Don Joseph Stephen Martinez. The following particulars we received from the master of the North West America, a young gentleman of the most correct veracity, who was himself a mournful witness of the inhuman act:—

Callicum, his wife and child, came in a small canoe, with a present of fish, along-side the *Princessa*, the commodore's ship; and, the fish being taken from him in a rough and unwelcome manner, before he could present it to the commander, the chief was so incensed at this behaviour, that he immediately left the ship, exclaiming as he departed, *pesbae, pesbae!* the meaning of which is, bad, bad!—This conduct was considered as so offensive, that he was immediately shot from the quarter-deck, by a ball, through the heart. The body on receiving the ball, sprung over the side of the canoe and immediately sunk. The wife was taken with her child, in a state of stupefaction to the shore by some of her friends, who were witnesses of this inhuman catastrophe.

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taftraphe. Shortly after, however, the father of Cal-
licum ventured on board the Spanish ship, to beg per-
mission to creep for the body beneath the water, when
this sad request of parental sorrow was refused, till the
poor afflicted savage had collected a sufficient number
of skins among his neighbours to purchase, of chrif-
tians, the privilege of giving sepulture to a son whom
they had murdered. The body was soon found, and
followed to its place of interment by the lamenting
widow, attended by all the inhabitants of the Sound,
who expressed the keenest sorrows for a chief whom
they loved, and to whose virtues it becomes our duty to
give the grateful testimony of merited affection.

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CHAP.

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CHAP. X.

Methods employed by the Natives to advance the Price of Sea Otters Skins.—Their Superiority in arranging their Bargains between us.—Conduēt of Comekela,—Made a Chief through our Influence.—His Marriage.—The Magnificence of the Entertainment on the Occasion.—Maquilla and his Chiefs affect our Dress and Manners.—Valuable Present of Maquilla.—A Grindstone stolen.—An human Hand offered for Sale.—Narrow Escape of the Natives on the Occasion.—Melancholy Loss of Part of the Crew of the Imperial Eagle, in 1787.—Suspicion that Maquilla is a Cannibal.—Extraordinary Pillow of Callicum.—The Inhabitants of Friendly Cove remove to a small Distance.—The Reasons and Facility of their Removal.—A young Otter brought for Sale.

IN the interval between our arrival and the fifth of June, a very brisk trade had been carried on for furs, and we had procured upwards of one hundred and forty sea otter skins. On our first arrival we had stipulated
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a certain price for every different kind of fur, according to its value; but in the whole business of this traffic they availed themselves of every advantage; and it was our interest, from the views of future benefit, to submit to any deviation they attempted to make from their original agreement.

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JUNE.

After some little time they changed the whole order of their traffic with us; and instead of common barter, according to the distinct value of the articles exchanged, the whole of our mercantile dealings was carried on by making reciprocal presents; the ceremony of which was accompanied with the utmost display of their pride and hospitality.—The particulars of these customs are related at large in that part of the work which is more particularly assigned to commercial information.

Whenever Maquilla or Callicum thought proper to make us a present, one of their personal attendants was sent to request the company of the *Tigbee*, or Captain, on shore, who always accepted the invitation, charged with such articles as were intended to be presented in return. On our arrival at the habitation of the chiefs, where a great number

1788. ber of spectators attended to see the ceremony, the sea otter skins were produced with great shoutings and gestures of exultation, and then laid at our feet. The silence of expectation then succeeded among them, and their most eager attention was employed on the returns we should make; nor can it be supposed, that, considering our credit as British merchants, we were deficient in affording the expected satisfaction:—besides, it had been artfully enough hinted by our Nootka friends, that as soon as their present stock of skins was exhausted, they should go upon an expedition to procure more; and this was one circumstance, among others, which naturally tended to quicken the spirit of commerce between us.

Since the first discovery of this Sound by Captain Cook, several ships had arrived there for the purpose of trading with the natives, who had acquired a greater degree of civilization from such a communication than we expected to have found amongst them;—but it was a matter of some surprize to us, that they appeared, at least to our observation, totally destitute of European articles: for, of all the iron, copper, beads, &c. which they

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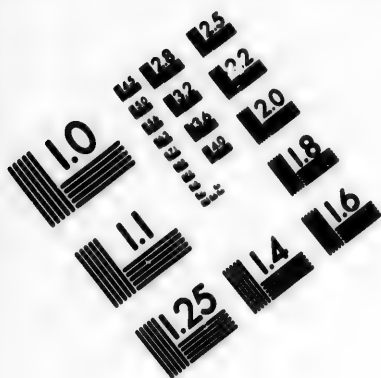
JUNE.

they must have received in return for their furs, not a particle of them was now to be seen;—nor is it easy to conjecture in what manner they had contrived, in so short a time, to dissipate their treasures.

The fickleness that they at times discovered in their traffic, was occasionally very troublesome. At one time copper was their favourite object; at another, iron was the only commodity in estimation among them; beads would also have their turn of preference. But this hesitation in their choice was generally determined by a medley of them all.

Comekela was, at first, very active in forwarding our commercial arrangement; but he had become very deficient in his native tongue, and he now spoke such a jargon of the Chinese, English, and Nootkan languages, as to be by no means a ready interpreter between us and the natives;—besides, in returning to the manners of his country, he began to prefer the interests of his countrymen, and, amidst the renewed luxuries of whale flesh, blubber and oil, to forget the very great kindnesses we had bestowed upon him.—But as he had, through our influence, been raised into a situation of





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trust and honour, it was not our interest to unfold our suspicions of his duplicity and ingratitude towards us. Maquilla had committed to him the care of his most valuable treasures, among which was a brass mortar, left by Captain Cook, which was held in the highest degree of estimation by the Nootka Chief. This piece of culinary furniture was elevated from a state of servile use, to become a symbol of royal magnificence. It was kept extremely bright, and, in visits, or meetings of ceremony, it was borne before Maquilla, to aid the splendor of the regal character.—It was therefore an object rather to recall his former dispositions towards us, by the continuance of our friendship, than to justify his deviation from that regard which it was his duty to manifest in our favour. We therefore exerted our influence with his brother Maquilla, to elevate him at once to the character of chief, by marrying him to a woman of rank in his own district. This favour was immediately granted to our solicitation, and we were invited to the nuptials, which were solemnized with all possible magnificence. — Half a whale, a large quantity of other fish, with

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an adequate proportion of oil, formed the sumptuous part of this entertainment, which was served with a surprizing degree of regularity to near three hundred people, who conducted themselves with great order, and expressed extreme satisfaction at the splendor and hospitality of their chief.

On the 6th, a messenger came on board from Maquilla, with the information that he was preparing to make us a very superb present, and to desire our attendance on shore, in order to receive it. — We immediately waited on the chief, and found him dressed in an European suit of cloaths, with a ruffled shirt, and his hair queued and powdered: — these decorations of his person were part of those presents which Comekela had received from us, and were, with all their weight of copper ornaments, considered as a proud distinction of Nootka royalty. The king was surrounded with several chiefs, who were all adorned with some particular article of English dress, which appeared to afford an uncommon gratification to their vanity; and, on this occasion, they had cleansed their faces from all the oil and ochre with which they were usually bedaubed. — Indeed, the meta-

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JUNE.

Friday 6

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JUNE.

morphosis was of such a nature, as, on our first entering the house, to puzzle us a little in the recognition of our friends. This circumstance afforded them considerable entertainment, which was followed by their rising up and imitating our mode of salutation. The manner of taking off their hats, the curious gestures they fell into, in scraping and bowing to each other, with a few English words which they had acquired, and now repeated aloud, without connection or understanding, composed a scene with which they were delighted, and we could not be displeased. When these good-humoured ceremonies were over, the chief ordered several very fine sea otter skins to be produced before us, and afterwards sent on board the ship; to which he added a very fine deer, that had been just killed in the woods by one of his people. We were not backward in making a suitable present to Maquilla; and, on our return to the ship, we found that the otter-skins had preceded us.

The arrival of Comekela had inspired these people with a decided preference for the articles of European dress;—an hat, a shoe, or a stocking, would generally turn the
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the balance of commercial negotiation in our favour:—nor did we neglect any motives in our power to encourage a fancy which might promote the use of woollens amongst them.

1788.

JUNE.

On the 7th, a complaint was made by the cooper that his grindstone had been stolen by the natives.—This was the first act of depredation that we had suffered;—indeed the different ships that had visited the Sound before us are said to have endured a similar loss. We had observed that the attention of the people had been principally directed to this stone, being convinced that it contained some peculiar charm, by which it communicated, with such little trouble, so sharp an edge to our iron; an operation which they found a matter of no common difficulty.

Saturday 7

The loss of this article was of some importance; and every means was exerted to recover it, but in vain;—even our application to Maquilla was not attended with the usual success.—It was, however, thought more prudent to connive at the theft, than engage in a dispute with the people;—we therefore contented ourselves with issuing strict orders that none of the natives, except

1788. the chiefs, should, in future, be admitted
JUNE. within the breast-work that surrounded the
house.

Sunday 8

On the 8th, a strange canoe with several people in it entered the cove, and coming alongside the ship, sold us a small number of sea otter skins:—they also offered for sale an human hand, dried and shrivelled up, the fingers of which were compleat, and the nails long; but our horror may be better conceived than expressed, when we saw a seal hanging from the ear of one of the men in the canoe, which was known to have belonged to the unfortunate Mr. Millar, of the Imperial Eagle, whose melancholy history was perfectly well known to every one on board*. The sailors scarcely hesitated a moment

* The Imperial Eagle was a ship employed to collect furs on the Coast of America, in the year 1787. In the course of this business, the Captain dispatched his long-boat from King George's Sound, on a trading expedition as far as 47° North; she then anchored a-breast of a river, the shallows at whose entrance prevented the long-boat from getting into it. A small boat, however, which was attached to the other, was sent up the river with Mr. Millar, an officer of the Imperial Eagle, another young gentleman, and four seamen.—

moment in expressing their opinion that it must have been the hand of Mr. Millar, and that the people before them were the murderers of that officer. This suspicion would have caused the certain death of our visitors, if it had not been suggested that the seal in question might have been transferred, by a succession of barter, to the present possessor.—The being in possession of the hand was, however, considered as so preponderating a circumstance, that it was no easy matter to keep the sailors in due bounds; and who, after all, could not be restrained from driving these people away from the ship, with every mark of insult and detestation. They proved, however, to be innocent of the crime of which they had been suspected; as we were assured, the next day, by Maquilla himself, on his own knowledge, that they had received the articles which had occasioned so much disgust to us, in the way of trade, from the natives of Queenhythe, which was the very place

men.—They continued rowing till they came to a village, where they were supposed to have been seized and murdered by the natives, as their cloaths were afterwards found stained with blood.

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1788. where Mr. Millar and his associates had been
JUNE. murdered.—But the chief did not attempt to deny that the hand had belonged to one of our unhappy countrymen; and, from his manifest confusion in conversing on this subject, and various other concurring circumstances, which will be related hereafter, we were very much disposed to believe that Maquilla himself was a cannibal.—There is, indeed, too much reason to apprehend that the horrible traffic for human flesh extends, more or less, along this part of the continent of America. Even our friend Callicum reposed his head, at night, upon a large bag, filled with human skulls, which he shewed as the trophies of his superior courage; and it is more than probable, that the bodies of the victims to which they belonged, had furnished a banquet of victory for him and the warriors who shared his savage glory.

On the same day Wicananish, a powerful chief to the Southward, at whose court Maquilla was visiting when we arrived in the Sound, came to return the visit, with two war canoes, and the greater part of his numerous suite superbly dressed in furs of the

the highest estimation. These people were of a more thriving appearance than our friends at Nootka, which arose, probably, from their being situated on a part of the coast where whales were in greater plenty ; —for this article, on which much of the sustenance, and all their luxury depended, was beginning to be scarce in Nootka Sound. Wicananish paid us a formal visit on board the Felice, and invited us to his place of residence, with a promise of great abundance of furs ;—but we could not, at present, tempt him, or any of his attendants, by any articles in our possession, to part with the beautiful dresses which they wore.

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JUNE.

On the 10th, we observed a general commotion throughout the village, and, in a short time, as if by enchantment, the greater part of the houses disappeared.—When we went on shore, Maquilla informed us that his people were preparing to remove to a bay which was at the distance of about two miles from the Sound, on account of the great quantities of fish which resorted thither, not only to procure a present stock of whale and other fish, but to take the earliest opportunity

Tuesday 10

1788. opportunity to prepare for their winter's subsistence.
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The manner in which the houses of Nootka are constructed, renders the embarkations as well as debarkations a work of little time and ready execution, so that a large and populous village is entirely removed to a different station with as much ease as any other water carriage. But a more particular account of these and similar circumstances relating to the manners and customs of these North Western Americans, will, as we have before had occasion to observe, be given in another part of this volume.

Several young sea otters were brought on board for sale, which found no purchasers. One of them was brought alive; the dams and all their whelps had been killed by Maquilla, except this, which, however, had met with some very rough treatment, as one of its eyes had been evidently forced out of its socket. It was very small, made a noise exactly like a young child, and was the most animated creature we had ever seen among the brute race.—After keeping it a day or two, we threw it into the sea, in order to let it escape; but, to our great surprise,

prize, we found that it could neither dive or swim, but continued flouncing about in the water till we retook it on board, when it soon after died from the bruises it had received.—This circumstance is, however, easily accounted for, as the dam of the sea otter is well known to carry its young ones on its back till a certain period, when they have acquired both strength and habit to take care of themselves.

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JUNE.

C H A P.

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JUNE.

C H A P. XI.

Ship prepares to put to Sea.—The Pinnace stolen by the Natives.—Impossibility of recovering her.—Some Uneasinesses on board the Ship.—Officers and Party intended to be left on shore, landed.—Provisions made for equipping the new Vessel.—The Safety of the Party consulted.—Progress of the new Vessel.—Health of the Crew.—Supplies of Fish.—A formal Visit to Maquilla, and Renewal of the Treaty, &c.—He is made acquainted with the probable Time of the IPHIGENIA's Arrival.—Requests a Letter for the Captain.—Our Astonishment at his Knowledge, and by what Means it was obtained.—Story of Mr. Maccay.—Callicum arrives from hunting the Sea Otter.—Articles which had belonged to Sir Joseph Banks in his Possession.—The Ship puts to Sea.—Plan of future Proceedings, &c. &c.

Wednesday:

ON the 11th of June, the weather being fine and moderate, the ship was unmoored and towed by the boats out of Friendly Cove, in order to put to sea: it had been our intention to have departed on the

the 9th, but we suffered an accident which very much distressed us : this was no less than the loss of the Pinnace, a very large fine boat, and the only one of the kind we had. We were disposed to believe, at first, that she broke adrift from the ship in the night, in a gust of wind, without being perceived by the watch ;—but in the morning she was not to be seen, and both boats and canoes were dispatched in search of her, but to no purpose of success. Large rewards were then offered to the natives if they would restore her, as, from a variety of circumstances, we had no doubt but that she was in their possession. Maquilla and Callicum both asserted their innocence in the strongest terms ; but it afterwards appeared, as we suspected, that the boat had been stolen and broken up for the sake of the iron and nails, which were afterwards dispersed throughout the Sound.

This theft threatened, at first, a rupture between us and the chief ; and while there were any hopes of producing the restoration of the Pinnace, we assumed rather an appearance of resentment ; but when we were convinced that the recovery of the boat was

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*Pinnace stolen
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1788. impracticable, we let the matter pass over
JUNE. without any further bustle or disturbance. Had we, indeed, proceeded to take any steps towards a retaliation, it would probably have occasioned a breach between us and the chief of Nootka, which might have been disadvantageous to our commercial objects in general, and been attended with evident danger to the party we should leave behind us. We therefore contented ourselves with warning Maquilla against any depredations of a similar nature, and suspending the quartermasters from their stations, as it was from their neglect that this very distressing inconvenience proceeded.

There still continued to lurk amongst the crew those symptoms of mutiny which had, at times, discovered itself in the early part of the voyage; though we had flattered ourselves that it was entirely eradicated previous to our arrival at Samboingan. The boatswain had lately failed in that respect to the officers which the duties of his station indispensably obliged him to observe. But a proper degree of spirit and exertion checked such menacing conduct, and he was degraded from his situation to the inferior duty

before the mast. Another boatswain was appointed in his stead, and the whole of this proceeding was entered in the log-book.

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On the day previous to our departure we landed the officers and party who were to remain on shore with the carpenters, in order to compleat the vessel. Proper instructions were left with the commanding officer, should the Felice fail in her proposed return, or any fatality happen either to her or the Iphigenia, who was expected in the Sound by the latter end of the autumn.— In case such an accumulated misfortune should befall the expedition, we left every necessary store to equip the new vessel for sea, with sufficient provisions to carry her to the Sandwich Islands, where she would be able to obtain sufficient refreshment to enable her to proceed to China. It was but a necessary duty to guard, as well as we were able, against every possible calamity; the ship's company did not appear to feel any impressions of an unfavourable omen, and we left our friends on shore with the most cheering hopes of finding them at our return, in a situation of great advantage and comfort.

But,

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But, independent of the vessel, we hoped to reap very considerable benefits from the party on shore ; at least we had every reason to expect that they would collect all the furs taken by the inhabitants of King George's Sound during the summer months, which we knew must be considerable. We were, at all events, very certain that they would remain free from disturbance and molestation ; for besides a piece of cannon mounted on the works, the little fort was well supplied with arms and ammunition ; and the garrison, including the artificers, was fully sufficient to defend it against any power that could be brought against it.

The vessel was in great forwardness, several of her floor-timbers were laid, and the armourers had prepared a large quantity of nails and bolts. There was established, besides, a very convenient rope-walk, and we had already begun to manufacture that essential article. So that, if all the circumstances of erecting a comfortable and commodious house, ballasting and equipping the *Felice* for sea, and the laborious business of procuring timber and preparing materials for the construction of the new vessels, with

some few necessary attentions to our commercial arrangements, be considered, the accusation of idleness or negligence, would be the last that the most unreflecting injustice could lay to our charge.

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On our first arrival in the Sound the country appeared moist, dreary, and uncomfortable; but we observed very little snow then on the ground, and that little was quickly washed away by the heavy rains which succeeded our arrival:—we found the air remarkably mild, and the fresh greens and onions, which were in the greatest abundance, soon restored the invalids we had on board to a state of perfect health.

Our supplies of fish were constant and regular, and the natives never failed to bring to daily sale as much of this article as they could spare from the demands of home consumption.

On the eve of our departure, a formal visit was paid Maquilla, in order to acquaint him that on the next day we proposed to leave the Sound. We made him understand that it would be three or four months before our ship would return, and about what time we supposed the vessel on the stocks would

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1788. be launched. They called the latter *Mam-*
JUNE. *matlee*, or ship, and the former *Tigbee Ma-*
matlee, or great ship. — The chief was also
requested to shew every mark of attention
and friendship to the party we should leave
on shore ; and as a bribe to secure his at-
tachment, he was promised that when we
finally left the coast, he should enter into
full possession of the house and all the goods
and chattels thereunto belonging. As a
proof of our immediate regard, he was pre-
sented with a suit of cloaths covered with
metal buttons, in his eyes of extraordinary
estimation ; several presents were made to
the ladies of his family ; and as we were
taking our leave, an old lady, the aunt of
Comekela, whom we have already described
as a mass of age and filthiness, requested,
in a very earnest manner, to be indulged
with a pair of buckles, which, immediately
on her receiving them, were hung in her
ears, with the same pride that European
beauty feels in decorating its charms with
the gems of India.

Maquilla, who was glowing with delight
at the attentions we had paid him, readily
granted every request we thought proper to
make,

make, and confirmed, with the strongest assurances of good faith, the treaty of friendship which had been already entered into between us. He was now also informed that another ship was expected in the Sound, which might probably arrive in our absence, and that the Captain of this ship was our particular friend. On receiving this intelligence, he very much astonished us by demanding, without the least hesitation, that we would leave a letter with him for our friend, the chief. We had not the least idea that these people had the most imperfect notion of our possessing the faculty of communicating our thoughts to each other on paper; and curiosity was instantly awake, to know by what means they could possibly have acquired such an article of information. It was, however, soon suggested to us, that these people obtained their knowledge from a Mr. Maccay, who had remained, we believe, upwards of fourteen months among them, during which time he had kept a journal, which we have seen, and the circumstance of which cannot be passed over without some account of the business which occa-

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1788. sioned his being left to nothing better than
JUNE. savage life.

The ships Captain Cook and Experiment had been equipped under the direction of Mr. Scot,—whose mercantile experience and spirit are acknowledged in Europe as well as in India,—from Bombay to America, for the purpose of collecting furs:—they arrived on the coast in the year 1786, and left Mr. Maccay, the surgeon's mate on board one of them, with his own entire consent and approbation, under the protection of Maquilla. Mr. Strange, who had the superintendence of these ships, entertained an opinion that very great commercial effects might proceed from leaving Mr. Maccay with the natives of King George's Sound, to learn their language, customs and manners. He was, therefore, accordingly left in the year 1786, and continued with them till 1787, when he embarked for China on board the Imperial Eagle.

Though this gentleman had been furnished with cloaths and provisions for his stay at Nootka, he was reduced to the level of a savage, and we hardly could conceive how it was possible for an European constitution

to

to support itself with food averse to its habits and its nature,—to live in every species of filth, and satisfy even hunger with train oil and blubber. But this was not all,—during Mr. Maccay's stay, from the length and severity of the winter, a famine reigned at Nootka Sound: the stock of dried fish was expended, and no fresh supply of any kind was to be caught; so that the natives were obliged to submit to a stated allowance, and the chiefs brought every day to our countrymen, the stated meal of seven dried herrings heads. The perusal of this gentleman's journal would shock any mind tinctured with humanity. The savages, however, gave him a wife, and once or twice took him with them to feasts and distant parts; and we can vouch, whatever their conduct may have been, that both the chiefs at Nootka and Wicananish enquired concerning his welfare as if they felt the affection for him which they expressed.

Maquilla was therefore indulged with a letter agreeable to his request; and we were not long in making the discovery, that a dread of the Iphigenia's arrival would prove a stronger protection to our party, than all

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1788. the kindness we had bestowed on, and all
JUNE. the promises which we had received from him.

Callicum, who had been gone for some time to hunt otters, was now returned, and it gave us no little satisfaction that the chief on whom we had the most reliance, and who was the professed protector and patron of our party, was come back to Nootka, previous to our departure from it. The usual tokens of friendship passed between us; but, in return for the present we now made him, he surprised us with three pieces of a brassy metal formed like cricket bats, on which the remains of the name and arms of Sir Joseph Banks, and the date of the year 1775, were very evident. On one of them the engraving was not so much injured as to prevent the whole of it from being very intelligible; on the others, part of these distinct marks was worn out. But these tokens of regard were returned to the amiable chief, to continue the remembrance of the original donor of them, to whose enterprising and philosophic spirit we may be said to be in a great measure indebted for the discovery of a coast, which, in spite of

on, and all
received from

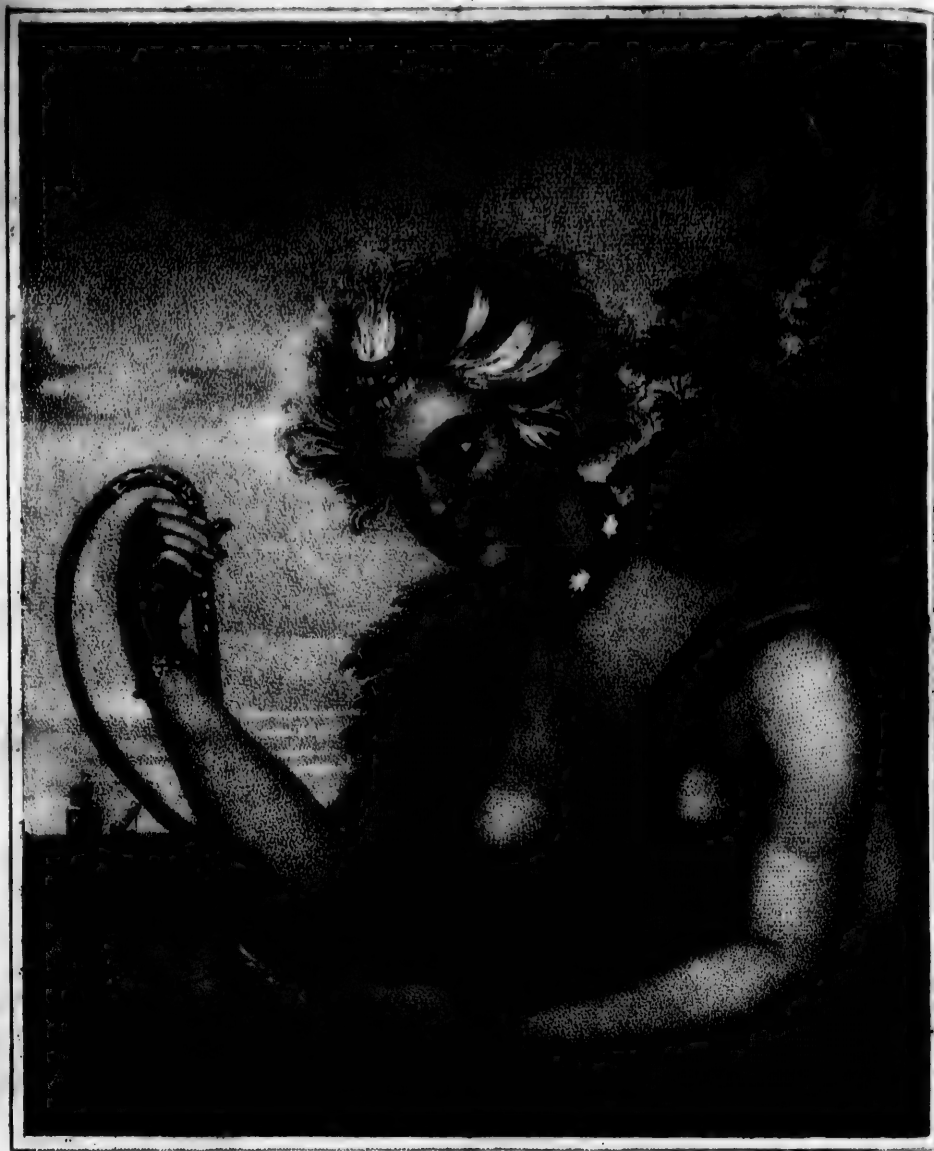
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Tianna, a Prince of Atovi.
One of the Sandwich Islands.

Publ'd Aug: 26. 1790. by J. Walter N^o 369. Piccadilly.



Wynnee, a Native of Owhyhee?

One of the Sandwich Islands.

Published 1790. by J. Walter, N^o 169, Piccadilly.

every impediment, will, I trust, prove a source of beneficial commerce to our country.

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On putting to sea, it was determined to trace the Southern part of the coast from King George's Sound, as the *Iphigenia* was to trace the Northern part of it, from Cook's River to the same place; by which arrangement the whole of the American continent from 60° to 45° North would be explored, with various intermediate places which were not examined by Captain Cook. We accordingly set sail, after having given repeated instructions to the party we left behind, to hold themselves continually on their guard against the natives,—and to be extremely attentive to preserve the most perfect harmony with the inhabitants of Nootka Sound.

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C H A P. XII.

The Chiefs Hanna and Detootche visit the Ship on her Way to the Residence of Wicananish, &c. —Wicananish arrives on board, and pilots the Ship into his Roadsted.—Numbers of the Inhabitants come off to the Ship.—The Face of the Country and the Village of Wicananish described.—Visit paid to the Chief.—Description of his House.—Their Ingenuity a Subject of Astonishment.—Immense Family of Wicananish.—His Wives; their Beauty, &c.—Brisk Trade carried on with the Natives.—Murder of a Stranger by the People of the Village.—The Ship obliged by bad Weather to enter the inner Port, named Port Cox,

Wednesday: **O**N the 11th of June in the evening, we were pursuing our course to the South East, at the distance of three miles from the shore, when, at sunset, Breaker's Point, which forms the Eastern shore of the entrance of King George's Sound, bore in the direction of North West half West, and a point appeared

peared stretching to the Southward of Breaker's Point, which obtained the name of Half-way Point, on account of its being about midway between King George's Sound and the residence of Wicananish. This point bore East, and our distance from the shore might be about three leagues. By a medium of several amplitudes and azimuths, the variation of the compass was $21^{\circ} 5'$ Easterly.

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We continued our course till eleven o'clock, with the long-boat in tow, when it was thought prudent to heave to for the night. At day-break on the 12th, we made sail, with the wind variable. At noon the observed latitude was $49^{\circ} 22'$ North, though we yet observed Breaker's Point bearing North West by North; and at the same time saw an high mountain over the entrance of Wicananish, bearing East North East, at the distance of seven leagues.

As we pursued our course, under an easy sail, in order to examine the coast between our present position and King George's Sound, the wind veered to the South East by East, and the weather became overcast; as this wind was directly against us, the ship

1788. ship was tacked, and we stood out to sea,
JUNE. being apprehensive of bad weather, which we generally found to attend the South East winds. Our fears were soon and very fully confirmed, for the weather became squally and violent. The top-sails were close reefed; and we continued standing to sea to procure an offing, the most important object of attention on this coast. In the night it blew very hard from the South East, with an heavy sea, thick weather, and constant as well as violent rain. At midnight the ship was wore, and we stood in for the land.

At day-break on the 13th, the weather, though it cleared away at times, had a very tempestuous appearance; our distance from the land might be six leagues, and the remarkable hill above Wicananish appeared very plain in the form of a sugar-loaf: it bore North East by East seven leagues. As we stood in for the shore, several canoes came off to us from a cluster of islands nearly abreast of us, in most of which there were upwards of twenty men, of a pleasing appearance and brawny form, chiefly cloathed in otter skins of great beauty. They paddled along with great velocity, and after
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some time, two of the boats came along-side, and the people in them did not hesitate to come on board. Amongst them there were two chiefs, named Hanna and Detootche, who resided at a village abreast of the ship. They were the handsomest men we had seen : —Hanna was about forty, and carried in his looks all the exterior marks of pleasantry and good humour ; Detootche was a young man, who to the beauty of form, added the graces of manner ; and, as far as our penetration could discover, the better qualities of the mind. They appeared to be perfectly at ease in our society, shook every person on board by the hand, and gave us very friendly invitations to receive the hospitality of their territory. They were extremely pressing that the ship should go in among the islands.

But as we had predetermined to seek out the residence of Wicananish, which we were instructed was not far from King George's Sound, we kept standing with that view towards the islands, which, as we approached, appeared to be low and woody, but we could perceive no practicable channel between them. Hanna and Detootche, to whom

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1788. whom we had made some trifling presents,
JUNE. now took their leave and paddled on shore.

About noon the weather broke up, and the wind veered to the Northward of East, with which we stood along the shore to enter between this range of islands and the main; when we perceived another small fleet of canoes approaching us, in the foremost of which we saw Wicananish, who, in a short time came on board, and undertook to pilot us himself into his harbour, the entrance of which, as he pointed it out to us, was at the distance of about five miles.

Boats were now sent a-head to sound, and we followed, under an easy sail; when, after rounding the extremity of the Southernmost island, we entered the roadstead, passing between several reefs of rocks. Our soundings were very regular; and, about one o'clock, we anchored between the main and the islands, being pretty well sheltered from the sea. Wicananish proved an excellent pilot, and was not only indefatigable in his own exertions, but equally attentive to the conduct of his canoes, in their attendance upon us.

This

This roadstead bore the wildest appearance that can be conceived, and was defended from the sea by several small islets and reefs, which nearly connected them. The port we observed was situated about two miles from the anchoring ground we occupied, the entrance of which did not appear to be more than two cables length in breadth.

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Abreast of the ship, on one of the islands, we perceived a village almost thrice as large as that of Nootka; from every part of which we now saw the people launching their canoes, and coming off in shoals to the ship, laden with fish, wild onions, and berries, which they disposed of to the sailors for small bits of iron, and other articles of similar attraction. — Wicananish was entertained during the greater part of the day on board, with several of his friends, and at night returned to the shore, followed by a long train of natives, who had waited to attend him.

The very fine weather on the 14th, gave us an opportunity to observe the face of the country, which appeared on all sides to be an impenetrable forest, without any intervals of a clear country. The village of Wicananish

Saturday 14

1788. stands on a rising bank near the sea, and
JUNE. is backed by the woods. In consequence of
a message from the chief to invite us to a
feast at his house, we landed about noon,
when we were met by a large crowd of
women and children, and conducted by the
brother of Wicananish to the place of enter-
tainment.

On entering the house, we were absolute-
ly astonished at the vast area it enclosed.—
It contained a large square, boarded up close
on all sides to the height of twenty feet,
with planks of an uncommon breadth and
length. Three enormous trees, rudely car-
ved and painted, formed the rafters, which
were supported at the ends and in the mid-
dle by gigantic images, carved out of huge
blocks of timber. The same kind of broad
planks covered the whole to keep out the
rain; but they were so placed as to be re-
moved at pleasure, either to receive the air
and light, or let out the smoke. In the mid-
dle of this spacious room were several fires,
and beside them large wooden vessels filled
with fish soup. Large slices of whale's
flesh lay in a state of preparation to be put in
similar machines filled with water, into
which

which the women, with a kind of tongs, conveyed hot stones from very fierce fires, in order to make it boil:—heaps of fish were strewed about, and in this central part of the place, which might very properly be called the kitchen, stood large seal-skins filled with oil, from whence the guests were served with that delicious beverage.

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The trees that supported the roof were of a size which would render the mast of a first-rate man of war diminutive, on a comparison with them; indeed our curiosity as well as our astonishment was on its utmost stretch, when we considered the strength that must be necessary to raise these enormous beams to their present elevation; and how such strength could be found by a people wholly unacquainted with mechanic powers. The door by which we entered this extraordinary fabric, was the mouth of one of these huge images, which, large as it may be supposed, was not disproportioned to the other features of this monstrous visage.—We ascended by a few steps on the outside, and after passing this extraordinary kind of portal, descended down the chin into the house, where we found new matter for
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astonishment in the number of men, women, and children, who composed the family of the chief; which consisted of at least eight hundred persons. These were divided into groupes, according to their respective offices, which had their distinct places assigned them. The whole of the building was surrounded by a bench, about two feet from the ground, on which the various inhabitants sat, eat and slept. The chief appeared at the upper end of the room, surrounded by natives of rank, on a small raised platform, round which were placed several large chests, over which hung bladders of oil, large slices of whale's flesh, and proportionable gobbets of blubber. Festoons of human skulls, arranged with some attention to uniformity, were disposed in almost every part where they could be placed, and were considered as a very splendid decoration of the royal apartment.

When we appeared, the guests had made a considerable advance in their banquet.— Before each person was placed a large slice of boiled whale, which, with small wooden dishes, filled with oil and fish soup, and a large muscle-shell, by way of spoon, composed

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posed the economy of the table. The servants were busily employed in preparing to replenish the several dishes as they were emptied, and the women in picking and opening the bark of a tree which served the purpose of towels. If the luxury of this entertainment is to be determined by the voraciousness with which it was eaten, and the quantity that was swallowed, we must consider it as the most luxurious feast we had ever beheld. Even the children, and some of them were not more than three years old, possessed the same rapacious appetite for oil and blubber as their fathers. The women, however, are forbidden from eating at these ceremonials.

Wicananish, with an air of hospitality which would have graced a more cultivated society, met us half way from the entrance, and conducted us to a seat near his own, on which we placed ourselves, and indulged our curiosity during the remainder of the banquet, in viewing the perspective of this singular habitation.

The feast being ended, we were desired to shew the presents which were intended for the chief:—a great variety of articles,

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brought for that purpose, were accordingly displayed, among which were several blankets and two copper tea-kettles. The eyes of the whole assembly were rivetted on these unusual objects, and a guardian was immediately assigned to the two tea-kettles, who, on account of their extraordinary value and beauty, was ordered to place them with great care in the royal coffers, which consisted of large chests rudely carved, and fancifully adorned with human teeth.

About fifty men now advanced in the middle of the area, each of them holding up before us a sea otter skin of near six feet in length, and the most jetty blackness. As they remained in this posture, the chief made a speech, and giving his hand in token of friendship, informed us that these skins were the return he proposed to make for our present, and accordingly ordered them to be immediately sent to the ship.

Our royal host appeared to be entirely satisfied with our homage; and we, who were equally pleased with his magnificence, were about to take our leave, when the ladies of his family advanced towards us, from a distant part of the building, whither they had

had retired during the entertainment. Two of them had passed the middle age, but the other two were young, and the beauty of their countenances was so powerful as to predominate over the oil and red ochre which, in a great measure, covered them. One of the latter, in particular, displayed so sweet an air of diffidence and modesty, that no disgust of colour, or deformity of dress, could preclude her from awakening an interest even in minds cultured to refinement. We had not, very fortunately, disposed of all the treasure we had brought on shore, and a few beads and ear-rings that yet remained, served to give our visit a concluding grace, by presenting them to these ladies of the court.

We continued till the 17th, carrying on a very brisk trade with the natives. The chief generally paid us a visit every day, and we lived on the most friendly terms with him and the whole village. The natives brought us abundance of fish of various kinds. The salmon and salmon-trout was of the best flavour, and we generally received cod, halibut, rock-fish, and herrings fresh from the sea; while the women and children sold us cray-fish, berries, wild onions, sal-

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JUNE.

1788. lads, and other esculent plants:—an occasional piece of venison also heightened the luxury of our table.

JUNE.

Tuesday 17 On the 17th, Wicananish requested our attendance on shore to engage in a barter for furs. On our landing, we were conducted, as before, to his house, where we found the number of his family to be rather encreased than diminished. No form or ceremony, however, was now employed; the whole family seemed to enjoy a sociable intercourse with each other; the women were permitted to eat with the men, and greatly to our satisfaction, the whole company appeared with the familiarity of unbesmeared faces, so that we had an opportunity of examining the comeliness of one sex, and the beauty of the other. This circumstance led us to infer, that these people employ paint only on days of festivity and ceremony.

The sea otter skins and other furs were now produced to the number of thirty, and of the most beautiful kind; which, after a considerable deal of negotiation, we at length purchased; for we found, to our cost, that these people, like those of Nootka, possessed all

all the cunning necessary to the gains of mercantile life. The same rage for presents prevailed here, as in the Sound; and even the ladies would interfere in making a bargain, and retard the conclusion of it, till they had been gratified with an added offering.

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Just as we were going to embark, there was a sudden and universal confusion throughout the village; a considerable number of canoes were instantly filled with armed men, and being launched in a moment, were paddled to the ship. At first we were apprehensive that some broil had taken place between the natives and the crew; but we were soon satisfied that a matter of political jealousy, respecting some of their neighbours, was the cause of this sudden commotion. Some strangers having ventured to visit the ship without the knowledge of Wicananish, the chief had ordered his people to fall upon the intruders, one of whom they had now seized and brought on shore. We are sorry to add, that this unfortunate man was immediately hurried into the woods, where we have every reason to apprehend that he was quickly murdered. We made the most earnest inter-

1788. cession in his behalf, and even proceeded to
JUNE. threats on the occasion; but while we were
employed in the office of mercy, they, we
fear, were enjoying the barbarity of re-
venge. This event strengthened our opinion,
that however mild and friendly the behaviour
of these people might be to us, perhaps
under the influence of fear, they were fierce
and cruel to each other. Indeed it had been
very generally observed by us all, that at
times, their countenances told a very plain
tale of a savage mind.

Friday 20 The weather was very bad till the 20th,
it blowing an hard gale of wind from the
South East, with continual rain. At times,
also, an heavy swell rolled in upon us, which
rendered our situation very unpleasant. It
was therefore determined that we should
embrace the first favourable moment to get
into the inner port, which had been already
surveyed, and was found to be not only con-
venient, but entirely defended from the
winds.

In the evening it moderated, when the ship
was got under sail, which was no sooner ob-
served by Wicananish than he came on board,
and safely piloted us into the harbour, which

we

we named Port Cox, in honour of our friend John Henry Cox, Esq.—But not chusing to trust entirely to the skill of the chief on the occasion, the boats were sent a-head to sound, particularly on the bar; on which we had three and an half and four fathoms, and soon after deepened our water to thirteen, fourteen and fifteen fathoms. It then decreased to eight, in which depth we dropped our anchor in a safe and secure harbour.

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JUNE.

C H A P. XIII.

The People of Wicananish less civilized than those at Nootka.—Certain necessary Precautions give offence to, and occasion a Coolness between us and the Chief.—Good Understanding restored, and the Treaty of Friendship renewed.—Reciprocal Presents pass on the Occasion.—The Use of Fire-arms known to these People.—The Village removes to a small Distance.—Treaty between Wicananish, Hanna and Detootche.—Presents on the Occasion.—Good Consequences resulting to us from the Treaty.—Presents made to and received from Wicananish.—Present arrives from King George's Sound, &c.—Prepare for Sea.—The FELICE proceeds on her Voyage.—Description of Port Cox, &c. &c.

ON the first view, the subjects of this chief appeared to be far less civilized than our friends at Nootka; we therefore proportionably encreased our precautions.—Their numbers were very considerable, and the boldness they discovered in all their

transactions with us, gave us reason to believe, that any relaxation of our vigilance might tempt them to a conduct which would produce disagreeable consequences to us all. Besides, both in sagacity, as well as activity, they were very superior to the inhabitants of King George's Sound.—Wicananish himself, though rather inclined to be corpulent, was athletic and active;—his brothers possessed the same advantages; and all the young men were robust, in a continual state of exercise, and enured to constant labour. We observed, that the most tempestuous weather never prevented them from going to sea, to strike the whale or kill the otter:—fishing was an occupation which was followed only by the inferior classes of the people.—The dominions of this chief were very extensive, and the numerous tribes who acknowledged his dominion, rendered him a very powerful sovereign. We, therefore, had sufficient reason to remain in a state of preparation against the possibility of that mischief which it was in his power to do us, and which opportunity might tempt him to employ.

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Saturday 21

This vigilance on our part, which was considered by the chief as distrust in his friendship, gave him great offence, and occasioned a short coolness between us.—On the 21st Wicananish observed that whenever he paid us a visit, the great cabin was decorated with arms, and that several blunderbuffs, &c. were placed on the deck; and not only left the ship in great anger, but refused to trade with us himself, and forbade his people from bringing us any supplies of fish or vegetables.—It was not, however, by any means, our interest that things should remain in this unpleasant, as well as inconvenient situation; it was therefore thought prudent to pay him a visit of peace on the following day; when, by the conciliating present of a sword, with a brass handle, and a large copper dish, the treaty of friendship was renewed; and this restoration of good-humour was confirmed by a present of five beautiful otter skins, a fat doe, and a supply of fish for the crew. The generosity, as well as friendly conduct of the chief, on this occasion, seemed to demand an extraordinary exertion of acknowledgment on ours; and we made him happy beyond

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expression, by adding to his regalia a pistol 1788.
and two charges of powder; a present which JUNE.
he had long solicited. Indeed, the use of
fire-arms was known to this tribe previous
to our arrival among them.—When the Re-
solution and the Discovery first entered King
George's Sound, Wicananish happened to be
there, on a visit to Maquilla, and then ac-
quired this unsuspected branch of know-
ledge.

On the 28th, we observed that the whole
village removed from their close vicinity to
the sea, into the inner port, with the same
easy transfer which we had observed on a
similar occasion at Nootka, and took up
their new position about a mile from the
ship, on a point of land, just within the
entrance of the harbour.

We were now formally made acquainted
by Wicananish, that a treaty was negotiating
between the chiefs Hanna and Detootche
and himself, in which we were to be in-
cluded; the substance of which was,—that
all the furs then in their possession should be
sold to Wicananish;—that they should live
in peace and friendship with us;—that all
the otter skins procured after the completion
of

1788. of the treaty, by either of the contracting
JUNE. chiefs, or their people, should be disposed
of by themselves, and that they were all to
have common access to the ship, where a fair
and equitable market was to be opened for
them without distinction.

From the jealousy which we already knew
to subsist between these chiefs, we were perfectly
satisfied, as we since had convincing
proofs, that, on our entering the territories
of Wicananish, neither Hanna or Detootche
would be permitted to trade with, or even
pay us a visit without having obtained a previous
permission for that purpose. We had
not therefore urged or encouraged an inter-
course, which, though it would have been
very advantageous to us, might, and most
probably would have brought on a war between
the respective sovereigns. This treaty,
therefore, gave us that extension of commerce
which we so much wished, in the regular
course of friendly negotiation, and we
were not backward in forwarding the completion
of it.

This treaty, which was managed with all
the address of refined policy, could not be
arranged according to the proposed conditions,

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tions, without an intrusion on the treasures of Wicananish, to which he knew not how to submit; and this was no less than a demand of the copper tea-kettles he so highly valued: but as the cession of them was made the governing article of the negotiation, they were at length, though reluctantly, consigned to Hanna and Detootche, who immediately gave up all the otter skins in their possession. But the chief did not long remain without being fully satisfied by us for the loss of his favourite vessels, by our presenting him with such articles as would make him ample reparation, and which he, probably, had in view when he made such a sacrifice. We therefore, among other things, selected six brass hilted swords, a pair of pistols, and a musket, with several charges of powder; and we would even have replaced the treasures with which his coffers had been so lately enriched. but not a single kettle was to be found in the ship. This present was sent on shore, and, including the returns to it, we had now procured an hundred and fifty fine otter skins.

At this time a canoe very unexpectedly arrived from King George's Sound, with a present

1788. present of fish from Maquilla, who had
JUNE. been made acquainted with all our motions,
from the time we left his territories. By
the same opportunity we had the pleasure
of hearing that our party were well, and
continued to make speedy advances towards
the completion of the vessel: as one of the
people, who was rather more intelligent
than the rest, by measuring a certain num-
ber of spans, contrived to inform us of the
actual state of the little *mamatlee*, as he called
her;—by which we understood that her
floor-timbers were laid.

The object of our touching at this port
being now fulfilled, by having procured all
the furs in the possession of Wicananish, with
some considerable supplies of the same kind
from Hanna and Detootche, we now pre-
pared to put to sea, to explore the coast to the
Saturday 28 Southward of this port. On the 28th, the
ship was warped out of the inner harbour
over the bar, and, in the evening, the road-
sted was cleared; when we pursued our
course along shore, with a light westerly
breeze and fine weather.

The harbour of Wicananish affords very
secure shelter, with good anchorage, both
in

in the roads and the inner port. An archipelago of islands seems to extend from King George's Sound to this place, and still further to the Southward. The channels between these islands are innumerable; but the necessary occupations of the ship would not allow us time to send out boats for the purpose of examining them:—as far, however, as our observation extended, we are disposed to believe that there is no channel for ships but that which we entered, and which is an exceeding good one.

These islands are covered thick with wood, with but very few clear spots, at least that we could discern. The soil is rich, producing wild berries, and other fruit in great abundance. The timber is of uncommon size, as well as beauty, and applicable to any purpose:—we saw frequent groves, almost every tree of which was fit for masts of any dimensions. Among a great variety of other trees we observed the red oak, the larch, the cedar, and black and white spruce fir.

In all our commercial transactions with these people, we were, more or less, the dupes of their cunning: and with such peculiar artifice did they sometimes conduct them-

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1788. themselves, that all the precaution we could
JUNE. employ, was not sufficient to prevent our
being over-reached by them. The women,
in particular, would play us a thousand
tricks, and treat the discovery of their finessè
with an arch kind of pleasantry that baffled
reproach.—They were very superior in per-
sonal charms to the ladies of Nootka, and
possessed a degree of modesty which is not
often to be found among the savage nations.
—No entreaty or temptation in our power
could prevail on them to venture on board
the ship. But their beauty was destroyed
by the filthy application of oil and ochre,
and a general inattention to that cleanliness
which Europeans consider as essential to fe-
male charms. We had an opportunity of
seeing an instance of their delicacy, which,
from its singularity, may not be thought un-
worthy of a relation.—Among other vi-
sitors of the ship, we were one day very
much surprisèd by the appearance of a canoe
paddled along by women, and containing
about twenty of that sex, without a single
person of the other. As we had never seen
a canoe so freighted before, it very much
engaged our attention; and, while we were
con-

contemplating this company of ladies, a young man leaped suddenly among them from another canoe; at which they were so alarmed, that, though they were clad in their best array, they all threw themselves, in an instant, into the sea, and swam in a body to the shore.

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The people of Wicananish are also very superior in point of industry and activity to those of King George's Sound. At break of day, without regard to the weather, the village was always empty; the men were employed in killing the whale, hunting the sea otter, or catching fish, and the women were in the woods, gathering berries, or traversing the sands and rocks in search of cray and shell-fish.

During our stay here, many strangers arrived from the Southern part of the coast, on purpose to visit us: but they were not only forbidden to trade, but to have any communication with us: to which regulation we thought it prudent to submit. These visits were very beneficial to Wicananish, and raised his importance with us, as we found that all these people, coming from various and distant districts, were subject

1788. to his power. Besides the two villages already mentioned, he had several other places of residence, to which he occasionally resorted, according to the season of the year, the calls of necessity, or the invitations of pleasure. In one of these places we reckoned twenty-six houses, each of which was capable of containing an hundred inhabitants. In short, such was the power and extensive territory of Wicananish, that it was very much our interest to conciliate his regard and cultivate his friendship.

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C H A P. XIV.

Pursue our Course to the Southward along the Coast. — Numerous Villages seated on the Shore. — The Inhabitants come off to the Ship, and their Disappointment at our not coming to an Anchor. — Discover the Straits of John de Fuca. — Their Extent and Situation. — Tatootche comes on board. — Long-boat dispatched to find an Anchorage, and its Return. — Bad Behaviour of the Natives. — Pursue our Course along the Coast. — Short Account of the Straits of John de Fuca. — Island of Tatootche passed. Pass numerous Villages. — Dangerous Coast. — Violence of the South East Storms. — Cape Flattery. — Village of Classet. — Ship enters the Bay of Quenhithe. — Savage Appearance of the Place. — See the Village of Quenuitett. — Destruction Isle. — Danger of the Ship, &c.

CHAP.

WE now left Wicananish, and during the night of the 28th we steered East South East, within three leagues of the land; and on the morning of the 29th, we found ourselves a-breast of a large Sound,

Sunday 29

Q 2

from

1788. from whence we saw a number of canoes
JUNE. coming out to meet us.

The canoes very soon paddled up to us, and some of the people came on board. They informed us that there were several villages in the Sound, but all under the jurisdiction of Wicananish.—As we had reason to believe that the chief had drawn all the furs from this place, we determined to avail ourselves of the present favourable season, to proceed to the Southward, and to call at this place on our return. The natives employed their utmost persuasions to keep us sometime on their coast, but on observing that the ship was steering its course beyond their villages, they took their leave of us with very evident marks of chagrin and disappointment.

We pursued our course to the East South East along the shore, at the distance of three miles, having crossed the mouth of the Sound, which we observed to be of no great depth. At noon the latitude was $48^{\circ} 39'$ North, at which time we had a complete view of an inlet, whose entrance appeared very extensive, bearing East South East, distant about six leagues. We endeavoured
to

to keep in with the shore as much as possible, in order to have a perfect view of the land. This was an object of particular anxiety, as the part of the coast along which we were now sailing, had not been seen by Captain Cook; and we knew of no other navigator said to have been this way, except Maurelle; and his chart, which we now had on board, convinced us that he had either never seen this part of the coast, or that he had purposely misrepresented it.

As we continued our course along the land, we perceived frequent villages on the shore, from whence we were visited by canoes filled with people, who in their persons and manners very much resembled those of Port Cox. The different villages were individually anxious to keep the commerce of the ship to themselves, and that we should come to an anchor off their respective habitations; but as the entire coast was open to the sea, even if we had been inclined to indulge their request, it would not have been in our power. We, however, purchased several sea otter skins of them, and proceeded on our course.

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By three o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at the entrance of the great inlet already mentioned, which appeared to be twelve or fourteen leagues broad. From the mast-head it was observed to stretch to the East by North, and a clear and unbounded horizon was seen in this direction as far as the eye could reach. We frequently sounded, but could procure no ground with one hundred fathoms of line. About five o'clock we hove to off a small island, situated about two miles from the Southern land, that formed the entrance of this strait, near which we saw a very remarkable rock, that wore the form of an obelisk, and stood at some distance from the island.

In a very short time we were surrounded by canoes filled with people of a much more savage appearance than any we had hitherto seen. They were principally cloathed in sea otter skins, and had their faces grimly bedaubed with oil and black and red ochre. Their canoes were large, and held from twenty to thirty men, who were armed with bows, and arrows barbed with bone, that was ragged at the points, and with large spears pointed with muscle-shell,

We

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We now made sail to close in with this island, when we again hove to about two miles from the shore. The island itself appeared to be a barren rock, almost inaccessible, and of no great extent; but the surface of it, as far as we could see, was covered with inhabitants, who were gazing at the ship. We could by no means reconcile the wild and uncultivated appearance of the place, with such a flourishing state of population.

The chief of this spot, whose name is Tatootche, did us the favour of a visit, and so furly and forbidding a character we had not yet seen. His face had no variety of colour on it, like the rest of the people, but was entirely black, and covered with a glittering sand, which added to the savage fierceness of his appearance. He informed us that the power of Wicananish ended here, and that we were now within the limits of his government, which extended a considerable way to the Southward.—On receiving this information, we made him a small present, but he did not make us the least return, nor could he be persuaded to let his people trade with us. We had, indeed, already received

1788. some account of this chief from Wicananish,
JUNE. who advised us to be on our guard against him and his people, as a subtle and barbarous nation.

It was our design, if possible, to cast anchor here, and, with this view, the long-boat was manned and armed, and sent under the direction of a proper officer, to sound between the island and the main, in order to find an anchoring-ground. The strongest injunctions were given to avoid, if possible, any dispute with the natives, and a small portion of trading articles was put in the boat, in case the natives should be inclined to barter.

After the departure of the long-boat for the shore, which was followed by all the canoes, we kept tacking occasionally near the island, which we had now an opportunity of examining with some degree of minuteness; and, in whatever direction we beheld it, it appeared to be a barren rock, surrounded with reefs, on which the sea broke with great fury. We, however, had some hope that, between it and the main, a place of shelter and security might be found, as the situation would have been very conve-

nient, not only for the purpose of exploring the strait, but also for the extension of our particular commerce.

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About seven in the evening, the long-boat returned without having found any place fit for anchorage, and having procured but very few furs. The island, as the officer informed us, was not of a deceitful appearance; it was a solid rock, covered with a little verdure, and surrounded by breakers in every direction. A great crowd of canoes came off to the boat, filled with armed people, who behaved in a very disorderly manner; several of whom jumped into the boat, and took some trifling articles away by force, and then triumphed in their theft. Our people were highly enraged at this conduct, and fully disposed to retaliate;—but the prudence of the officer kept them quiet, who, being fearful of some unpleasant event, had no sooner made the necessary examination, than he returned on board.

We were perfectly convinced that Wicananish had drawn from this chief a considerable quantity of his furs, as we observed many of our articles about them, which they could not have obtained but from Port

Cox

1788. Cox or King George's Sound. One of the natives in particular was in possession of a complete set of coat buttons, which was very familiar to the memory of us all.

JUNE.

Being thus disappointed in obtaining an harbour here, we continued our course to the Southward, and examined the coast with great attention, in expectation of finding a place of security, from whence our boats would be enabled not only to examine this strait, but other considerable portions of the coast. With this view we made sail about eight in the evening, and stood along the shore, with pleasant and moderate weather.

The strongest curiosity impelled us to enter this strait, which we shall call by the name of its original discoverer, John De Fuca.

Some accounts of the straits of John de Fuca are handed down to us from the very respectable authority of Hakluyt and Purchas: the former of whom records the opinion which the ministers of Queen Elizabeth entertained of its importance. We had now ocular demonstration of its existence,—and we are persuaded, that if Captain Cook had seen this strait, he would have

have thought it worthy of farther examination.—The circumstances which put it out of our power to gratify the ardent desire we possessed of executing such a design, will be faithfully related, as we pursue the narrative of the voyage.—A more particular detail of this remarkable inlet may already have been favoured by the reader's attention, in the introductory memoir which treats of the yet probable existence of a North West passage.

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In the morning of the 30th of June, we had made no great progress from the land, as it was calm during the greater part of the night.—The island of Tatootche bore nearly South East, distant only three leagues. About ten o'clock a great number of canoes came from the island, in which there could not be less than four hundred men, among whom we observed the chief himself. They amused themselves in paddling round the ship, every part of which, but particularly the head, they seemed to behold with extreme admiration: indeed, it is more than probable that the greatest part of them had never seen such a vessel before. We had been already so much displeased by the conduct

Monday 30

1788.
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duet of the chief, that we did not think proper to invite him on board. The party, however, gave us a song, which did not differ much from that we heard in King George's Sound. But offended as we might be with the people, we could not but be charmed by their music. Situated as we were, on a wild and unfrequented coast, in a distant corner of the globe, far removed from all those friends, connections, and circumstances which form the charm and comfort of life, and taking our course, as it were, through a solitary ocean; in such a situation the simple melody of nature, proceeding in perfect unison and exact measure from four hundred voices, found its way to our hearts, and at the same moment awakened and becalmed the painful thought.

About noon, a gentle breeze sprung up, when we continued our course to the Southward along the shore, at about the distance of three miles, and the natives of Tatootche returned to their island. As we steered onwards, canoes continually came off from the villages, which we observed from time to time, on the high banks close to the sea. The people in the different boats invited

ted us in the most earnest manner, to steer in for their respective villages; but no means we employed, and we took some pains to effect it, could prevail on any of them to venture on board the ship.

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The appearance of the land was wild in the extreme,—immense forests covered the whole of it within our sight, down to the very beach, which was lofty and craggy, and against which the sea dashed with fearful rage. The shore was lined with rocks and rocky islets, nor could we perceive any bay or inlet that seemed to promise the least security to the smallest vessel: and unless there were some narrow coves, which were imperceptible to us, we knew not how the natives could find a shelter, even for their canoes; yet the villages we saw were neither inconsiderable in extent or in number. As we steered along, the force of Southerly storms was evident to every eye; large and extensive woods being laid flat by their power, the branches forming one long line to the North West, intermingled with roots of innumerable trees, which had been torn from their beds, and helped to mark the furious course of these tempests; whose violence

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violence may be conceived, when we reflect on the great extent of ocean over which they blow, without a single object to impede their progress or break their violence.

About seven in the evening, we had a distant sight of Cape Flattery, so named, as it was first seen, by Captain Cook. It bore South East half East, at the distance of six leagues. This head-land is laid down in the latitude of $48^{\circ} 5'$ North, and longitude $235^{\circ} 3'$ East of Greenwich.—In our accounts there was a very little difference, but we are most willing to place the error on our side. We had also a near view of the village of Classet, which is situated on an high and steep rock close to the sea.—Though this place appeared to be of considerable extent, one canoe only came off to us, containing thirty men clad in skins of the sea otter.

The coast from Cape Flattery seemed now to trend entirely to the Southward; nor could we perceive any opening or inlet whatever, that promised to afford us a place of shelter. As it was our design to make a particular examination of this coast, the ship was hove to at sunset, for the night.

This part of the coast was lined with rocks, and several breakers ran off Classet, at about the distance of half a mile. 1788.

At day-break, we resumed our course, Cape Flattery bearing North North West, having been drifted in the night to the Southward. The weather bore a very unsettled appearance, and it blew strong from the West South West, which was nearly on the shore. At seven, the bay of Queenhithe opened to our view, which we entered with all those unpleasing sensations which may be supposed to arise from the reflection, that we were approaching the place where, and the people by whom, the crew of the boat belonging to the Imperial Eagle were massacred. JULY. Tuesday

As we steered along the shore, we observed the small river and island of Queenhithe; but it became, on a sudden, so thick and gloomy, that the land, which was at about four miles distance from us, was scarcely discernible. We saw neither canoes or inhabitants, and an awful silence reigned around us. But though the village of Queenhithe was obscured from our view, we could very plainly discern the town of Quenuitett, which is distant from it about seven

or

This

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or eight miles. It is situated on an high perpendicular rock, and is joined by a narrow and impregnable causeway, twenty feet in height, to the main land, which is an entire forest. With our glasses we observed a multitude of houses scattered over the face of the rock. As we advanced, Destruction Island was seen at the distance of about a mile, situated in the middle of the bay, and distant from the main land about two miles: it is low and flat, and without a single tree; it however presented us the rare and pleasant sight of a considerable space covered with verdure; and appeared to be surrounded by breakers, on which an heavy sea rolled, occasioned by the South West wind. In this position we had ten fathoms over a muddy bottom.

About eleven o'clock the wind veered to the South West, which brought thick weather and rain, and we found ourselves completely embayed,—a situation we should very gladly have avoided. An heavy swell already rolled into the bay, which promised to prevent us very effectually from coming to anchor, particularly if it blew from the South West quarter, being directly on the land,

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land, which to the Southward was in such a direction, that a South East course would not weather any part of it; nor, on the other tack, could we hope to weather the Westerly land, on account of the great Westerly swell.

In this situation we stood, as the better tack, to the South South East, until noon; when, being within half a mile of the shore, we were obliged to tack, and stand to the West North West: our soundings were fifteen and eight fathoms close to the land, which was covered with wood to the water's edge. We remarked, however, that the beach was not very steep, and here and there we observed some bare and sandy patches.

We now kept under a press of sail, as it blew very strong; nor dared we even to take in a reef of the top-sail; besides, the weather was so thick, that we could not see a mile a-head of the ship. We, however, imagined that we should be able to weather Destruction Island, and continued under this croud of sail to avoid the danger before us; when, at one o'clock, it cleared up for a moment, and we saw the island a point under our lee-

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bow,

1788. bow, at the distance of a mile and an half,
JULY. an heavy sea drifting us fast in with the shore.

There was now nothing to be done, but to cast anchor, which we prepared to do in the wildest place we ever beheld,—and where we were morally certain our anchors could not hold, though the bottom was mud, from the strong tumbling in of an heavy sea.

In this situation,—the distress of which was not a little enhanced by the reflection that we were on a shore whose barbarity our countrymen had already experienced,—ten minutes must have decided our fate : when providentially the wind, on a sudden, veered to the South South East, which enabled us to tack and steer off the shore with a flowing sheet, and happy in the prospect of procuring an offing before night ;—for I believe there was not a person on board the ship who had not reflected on the melancholy possibility of his becoming a victim to the cannibals of Queenhithe.

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JULY.

C H A P. XV.

Our Progress along the Coast.—Discover Shoal-water Bay, which is inaccessible to Ships.—Natives come off.—Their honest Dealing.—Some Account of them.—We pursue our Course.—Deception Bay.—Difference between the Spanish Charts of Maurelle and the real Situation of the Coast.—Beautiful Appearance of the Country.—Pass Quicksand Bay and Cape Look-out.—See three remarkable Rocks.—Close our Progress to the Southward.—Future Plan of proceeding.—Knowledge gained of the Coast.—Parts left unexplored by Captain Cook now visited.—Reasons for returning to the Northward.—Pursue our Course to the North.—Strait of John de Fuca seen again.—Anchor in Port Effingham.—A Description of it, &c.—Marine Animals seen, &c.

THE wretched fate of the people belonging to the Imperial Eagle, evidently predominated in the minds of our crew; and being on the very coast where such an act of barbarity was committed, the infecti-

1788. ous apprehension of a similar destruction,
JULY. spread generally amongst them. It was the
common subject of their discourse, and had
such an influence on their spirits, as to en-
danger the loss of the ship, in a manner
which will be related hereafter.

We continued standing to sea all the
evening of the first of July, when, at mid-
night, being of opinion that we had suffi-
cient offing, we wore and stood in again for
the land. At one o'clock in the morning,
the wind veered to the West South West,
which encouraged us to hope for a sufficient
degree of favourable weather to continue
our examination of the coast.

Wednesday 2 On the morning of the 2d, at seven
o'clock, we again saw the land bearing East,
at the distance of seven leagues, which we
judged to be a little to the Southward and
Eastward of Queenhithe. This land was
very remarkable from its having the appear-
ance of a saddle, and that part of it obtained
the name of Saddle Hill. We computed it
to be in the latitude of $46^{\circ} 30'$ North, and
longitude of $235^{\circ} 20'$ East of Greenwich.
We stood to close in with it, when it appear-
ed to be the Southernmost point we had seen
the

the preceding day from Destruction Island. The wind veered again to the South South East, and at once damped our hopes of favourable weather. Heavy rain with a thick fog succeeded, which obliged us to tack and stand again to sea.

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The bad weather continued all this day, with an heavy sea from the Westward, that endangered the long-boat, which we had towed astern ever since our departure from King George's Sound. It was, therefore, impossible for us to encounter the land without running into extreme danger. Besides, the moon was now near its change, a period which, according to our observations, never failed in these seas to bring bad weather along with it. We therefore carried a press of sail, to obtain a good distance from the land; which was, at this time, an object of no common consequence.

On the 3d at noon, we had a glimpse of the sun, and the latitude was $47^{\circ} 46'$ North. The wind shifted to the South West, on which we tacked and stood to the South South East, immediately in for the land. We now were at about the distance of twenty leagues from Cape Flattery.

Thursday 3.

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JULY.

Friday 4

During the night the weather was moderate and clear, and on the 4th the wind shifted to the South East; when we again tacked and stood to the East North East, in order to near the land. We stood thus till six o'clock in the evening, when the land was seen bearing from North to North East. In the Northern quarter it was of a great height, and covered with snow. This mountain, from its very conspicuous situation, and immense height, obtained the name of Mount Olympus. We computed it to be in the latitude of $47^{\circ} 10'$ North, and longitude 235° East of Greenwich. In the North East it stretched itself out to a point, which we judged to be in the latitude of $47^{\circ} 20'$ North. We kept standing in for the land, during the night, with a light breeze from the South East; and at sun-rise

Saturday 5 on the 5th, it bore from North by West, to East by North, our distance off shore being 12 leagues; so that in the night we had been affected by a considerable current, which had set us from the land.

At noon the latitude was $47^{\circ} 1'$ North, and the lofty mountains seen on the preceding day, bore East North East, distant seven

seven leagues.—Our distance might be four leagues from the shore, which appeared to run in the direction of East South East, and West North West, and there appeared to be a large sound or opening in this direction.

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By two o'clock, we were within two miles of the shore, along which we sailed, which appeared to be a perfect forest, without the vestige of an habitation. The land was low and flat, and our soundings were from fifteen to twenty fathoms over an hard sand. As we were steering for the low point which formed one part of the entrance into the bay or sound, we shoaled our water gradually to six fathoms, when breakers were seen to extend in a direction quite across it, so that it appeared to be inaccessible to ships. We immediately hauled off the shore until we deepened our water to sixteen fathoms. This point obtained the name of Low Point, and the bay that of Shoal-water Bay; and an head-land that was high and bluff, which formed the other entrance, was also named Cape Shoal water. The head-land we judged to be in the latitude of $46^{\circ} 47'$ North,

R 4

and

1788. and the longitude $235^{\circ} 11'$ East of Greenwich.
JULY.

The distance from Low Point to Cape Shoal-water was too great to admit of an observation in our present situation. The shoals still appeared to run from shore to shore; but when we were about midway, we again bore up near them, in order to discover if there might not be a channel near the cape: we accordingly steered in for the mouth of the bay, when we shoaled our water to eight fathoms. At this time the breakers were not more than three miles from us, and appeared to extend to Cape Shoal-water, when it was thought prudent again to haul off. From the mast-head it was observed that this bay extended a considerable way inland, spreading into several arms or branches to the Northward and Eastward. The back of it was bounded by high and mountainous land, which was at a great distance from us. A narrow entrance appeared to the North West, but it was too remote for us to discover, even with glasses, whether it was a river or low land.

We had concluded that this wild and desolate shore was without inhabitants, but
this

this opinion proved to be erroneous; for a canoe now came off to us from the point, with a man and boy. On their approach to the ship, they held up two sea otter skins; we therefore hove to, when they came alongside and took hold of a rope, but could not be persuaded to come on board. We then fastened several trifling articles to a cord, and threw them over the side of the ship, when they were instantly and eagerly seized by the boy, and delivered by him to the man; who did not hesitate a moment to tie the two otter skins to the cord, and waved his hand as a sign for us to take them on board,—which was accordingly done, and an additional present immediately conveyed to him in the same manner as the former.

These strangers appeared to be highly delighted with their unexpected treasure, and seemed, at first, to be wholly absorbed in their attention to the articles which composed it; but their curiosity was in a short time entirely transferred to the ship, and their eyes ran over every part of it with a most rapid transition, while their actions expressed such extreme admiration and astonishment, as gave us every reason to conclude

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JULY.

1788. clude that this was the first time they had
JULY. ever been gratified with the sight of such an object.

We endeavoured to make ourselves intelligible, by addressing them in the language of King George's Sound, which we had found to prevail from thence to the district of Tatootche; but they did not comprehend a word we uttered, and replied to us in a language which bore not the least resemblance or affinity, as far as we could form a judgment, to any tongue that we had heard on the coast of America.

On a particular inspection, we observed that the fashion of their canoes differed from those of their more Northern neighbours. In their persons and cloaths, indeed, they resembled the people of Nootka; but we observed no ornaments about them which could lead us to suppose that they had ever before communicated with Europeans: nevertheless, their first holding up the otter skins, and the manner in which they conducted themselves afterwards, plainly proves that they had an idea of trade: indeed, it is more than probable that some of the natives of Tatootche's district may have occasionally
roamed

roamed thus far, and communicated the intelligence of strangers arriving in ships to trade for furs. But there is every reason to believe that these people are of a different and distinct nation from those of King George's Sound, Port Cox, and Tatootche; nor is it improbable but that this very spot might be the extreme boundary of their district on the North. In this persuasion we became doubly anxious to find some place of shelter,—some harbour or port where the ship could remain in safety, while the boats might be employed in exploring this part of the coast.

During the time we had been lying to for these natives, the ship had drifted bodily down to the shoals, which obliged us to make fail,—when the canoe paddled into the bay. It was our wish to have sent the long-boat to sound near the shoals, in order to discover if there was any channel; but the weather was so cloudy, and, altogether, had so unsettled an appearance, that we were discouraged from executing such a design.—Nothing, therefore, was left for us but to coast it along the shore, and endeavour to find

1788.

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1788. find some place where the ship might be
JULY. brought to a secure anchorage.

We therefore continued our course; and, by seven o'clock, we were at no great distance from Cape Shoal-water, when we again had a clear and distinct view of the bay and shoals.—Our depth of water was sixteen fathoms, over a sandy bottom, and the land extended to the East South East, from the Cape, from which we were distant three leagues. The land to the Southward made like islands, but that circumstance was attributed to the fog, which now came thick upon us. As night came on the ship was hauled off shore and hove to, to await the return of day-light.

Sunday 6

The morning of the 6th was very unfavourable to the business of making discoveries;—the wind veered to the North, and blew very strong, with a great sea;—Cape Shoal-water bore East by North six leagues; and the land was every where covered with a thick mist; we therefore did not bear up till nine o'clock, when the mist cleared from off the land.—As we approached it our soundings were very regular, from forty to sixteen fathoms, over a
I sandy

sandy bottom.—At half past ten, being within three leagues of Cape Shoal-water, we had a perfect view of it; and, with the glasses, we traced the line of coast to the Southward, which presented no opening that promised any thing like an harbour.—An high, bluff promontory bore off us South East, at the distance of only four leagues, for which we steered to double, with the hope that between it and Cape Shoal-water, we should find some sort of harbour.—We now discovered distant land beyond this promontory, and we pleased ourselves with the expectation of its being Cape Saint Roc of the Spaniards, near which they are said to have found a good port.

By half past eleven we doubled this cape, at the distance of three miles, having a clear and perfect view of the shore in every part, on which we did not discern a living creature, or the least trace of habitable life. A prodigious Easterly swell rolled on the shore, and the soundings gradually decreased from forty to sixteen fathoms, over a hard, sandy bottom. After we had grounded the promontory, a large bay, as we had imagined, opened to our view, that bore a very
pro-

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1783. promising appearance, and into which we
July. steered with every encouraging expectation.

The high land that formed the boundaries of the bay, was at a great distance, and a flat level country occupied the intervening space: the bay itself took rather a westerly direction. As we steered in, the water shoaled to nine, eight, and seven fathoms, when breakers were seen from the deck, right a-head; and, from the mast-head, they were observed to extend across the bay.— We therefore hauled out, and directed our course to the opposite shore, to see if there was any channel, or if we could discover any port.

The name of Cape Disappointment was given to the promontory, and the bay obtained the title of Deception Bay. By an indifferent meridian observation, it lies in the latitude of $46^{\circ} 10'$ North, and in the computed longitude of $235^{\circ} 34'$ East. We can now with safety assert, that no such river as that of Saint Roc exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts: to those of Maurelle we made continual reference, but without deriving any information or assistance from them.

We now reached the opposite side of the bay, where disappointment continued to accompany us; and being almost certain that there we should obtain no place of shelter for the ship, we bore up for a distant head-land, keeping our course within two miles of the shore.

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The face of the country, however, assumed a very different appearance from that of the Northern coast. Many beautiful spots, covered with the finest verdure, solicited our attention; and the land rose in a very gradual ascent to the distant mountains, skirted by a white, sandy beach down to the sea. As we sailed along, spacious lawns and hanging-woods everywhere met the delighted eye,—but not an human being appeared to inhabit the fertile country of New Albion.

As we thus pursued our course along the shore, observing every part of it with the most minute attention, a large opening appeared a-head, which once more animated our hopes, and formed a new source of disappointment. In the offing it blew very strong, and a great westerly swell tumbled in on the land. By seven o'clock we were a-breast

We

1788. a-breast of this opening, the mouth of which,
JULY. to our great mortification, was entirely
closed by a low, sandy beach, nearly level
with the sea, which appeared to flow over
it, and form an extensive back-water :—
beyond it an open champaign country ex-
tended to a considerable distance, where it
was confined by a boundary of lofty moun-
tains.

The bay was named by us Quicksand Bay, and an adjoining headland Cape Grenville;—the distant Southerly head-land, we called Cape Look-out. This cape is very high and bluff, and terminates abruptly in the sea. At about the distance of two miles from it there rose three large rocks, which were very remarkable, from the great resemblance they bore to each other.—The middle one has an archway, perforated, as it were, in its centre, through which we very plainly discovered the distant sea.—They more particularly attracted our notice, as we had not observed between King George's Sound and this place, any rocks so conspicuously situated from the land :—their distance from each other might be

be about a quarter of a mile, and we gave them the name of the Three Brothers.

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By eight in the evening we were within three leagues of Cape Look-out, which we judge to lie in the latitude of $45^{\circ} 30'$ North, and in the longitude of $235^{\circ} 50'$ East of Greenwich. We were now convinced that there was no opening between the Cape and Quickfand Bay.

As we had met with nothing but discouragement, we here gave up all further pursuit, and closed our progress to the Southward:—we therefore hauled our wind, in order to proceed again to the Northward.

It was our intention to take our course to the great bay or sound which we had passed the day after our departure from Port Cox, and from whence a large company of the natives came off to us. This bay had, indeed, been already visited by the ship *Imperial Eagle*, where we had found a secure anchorage: from thence we proposed to send the long-boat, in order to explore the straits, and to ascertain whether the inhabitants were a people distinct from those of Nootka Sound.

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We had now obtained no inconsiderable knowledge of the coast of America, from King George's Sound to Cape Look-out: that is, from the latitude of $45^{\circ} 37'$ North, to the latitude of $49^{\circ} 37'$ North.—We had not only traced every part of a coast which unfavourable weather had prevented Captain Cook from approaching, but had also ascertained the real existence of the Strait of John de Fuca, which now renewed its claim to our attention. We most anxiously wished to have continued our inquisitive course to the Southward, as far, at least, as latitude 42° , where it is said Captain Caxon found a good harbour; but the season was already so much advanced, that had we gone so far to the Southward, we should not have been able to return to King George's Sound before the equinoctial gales set in;—a season to be dreaded on this coast, more especially when we knew of no harbour where we could take refuge against the violence of it: Besides, we were influenced by a very natural anxiety concerning the party we had left at Nootka:—they might have been in want of our assistance, and various circumstances might have arisen, which would render our return

return of importance to them, at least before the month of September:—Besides, if we had pursued our course to the Southward, we should have been altogether prevented from examining the strait; as the bad weather which we had every reason to believe we should experience on our return, might, and in all probability would, prolong the course of it to the middle of August.—As it was, we seldom enjoyed a succession of three days without either fog or rain.

The equinoctial gales blow with great fury on the coast of America, and generally set in from the 10th to the 15th of September, We were therefore apprehensive that they might drive us off the coast, and force us, perhaps, to steer to the Sandwich Islands, and, of course, to leave the party at Nootka in a situation of difficulty and danger.

Such were the reasons which determined us to return to the North, and to keep King George's Sound open, at all events, let the winds or weather be what they might. This measure was also essentially necessary, as it was already agreed that on the 20th of September one of the ships should leave the

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JULY.

1788. American coast on her return to China; but
JULY. before this part of our expedition could be put in execution, the new vessel was to be launched and equipped for sea, and near three thousand fathoms of cordage manufactured,—a business which would employ a more numerous crew than our ship contained.

Monday 7 At sun-rise of the 7th, Cape Look-out was seen, bearing East by South, at the distance of twelve leagues. Our latitude at noon was $45^{\circ} 12'$ North, and the variation of the compass only $16^{\circ} 10'$ East.

Thursday 10 It was the 10th of July before we again made the land, when at noon we discerned the high land forming the Eastern shore in the Straits of de Fuca; and, at sun-set, we saw the Easternmost head-land of the large sound near Port Cox, which obtained from us the name of Cape Beale: this head-land bore North by East, distant ten leagues.—The variation of the compass was here $18^{\circ} 30'$ East.

Friday 11 On the 11th, in the morning, we were off the mouth of this sound, which appeared extensive, but of no great depth. Several islands were placed nearly in the middle of it,

it, which were rather high, and well wooded. The long-boat was sent to find the anchoring-ground, and, about eleven o'clock, she returned to pilot us into a fine spacious port, formed by a number of islands, where we anchored in eight fathoms water, over a muddy bottom, and securely sheltered from wind and sea. A large number of natives immediately came off in their canoes, and brought abundance of fish; among which were salmon, trout, cray, and other shell-fish, with plenty of wild berries and onions. These people belonged to a large village, situated on the summit of a very high hill. This port we named Port Effingham, in honour of the noble Lord of that title.

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On the 12th, the sails and running rigging were unbent, a party of waterers were sent on shore, and the rest of the crew were employed about the necessary duty of the ship.

This found had been visited by Captain Barclay, of the Imperial Eagle, in the year 1787, who named it Barclay Sound. The found itself is very extensive, and contains several scattered islands, entirely covered with wood. On the main land there are

1788. large and populous villages, well watered
JULY. by rivulets, where great numbers of salmon
are taken, which, when properly prepared,
constitute a principal part of their winter's
food.

The port is sufficiently capacious to contain an hundred sail of ships,—and so fortunately sheltered as to secure them from any storm.—The anchorage is also good, being a soft mud, and the watering place perfectly convenient.

In our passage from Cape Look-out to Port Effingham, we saw numbers of sea otters playing in the water with their young ones; but at the ship's approach they quickly disappeared. Once or twice we passed within a few yards of some of them, as they were sleeping on their backs in the sea.—At first we took them for pieces of drift-wood, till, on being awakened by the noise of the ship, they instantly dived away. We also saw many whales of the spermaceti kind, and seals without number, besides other huge marine animals.

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C H A P. XVI.

Take possession of the Straits of de Fuca in the Name of the King of Great Britain.—Visited by the Natives.—Pleasant Situation of the Ship.—Long-boat equipped and sent on an Expedition.—The Object of it.—Strangers resort to the Ship.—Anxiety on Account of the Long-boat, which at length arrives.—Reason of her quick Return.—Conflict with the Natives of the Straits of de Fuca, and the Consequences of it.—Valour of those People.—The dangerous Situation of the Boat and Crew.—Distance advanced up the Straits of de Fuca.—Position of them.—Human Heads offered to sale.—Damp thrown on the Spirits of the Crew.—Prepare for Sea.—Leave Port Esfingham.—An Account of the Port and Sound.—Progress of the new Vessel, &c.—Success in collecting Furs.—Attention of Maquilla.

IT may not be improper to mention that we took possession of the straits of John de Fuca, in the name of the King of Britain, with the forms that had been adopted by preceding navigators on similar occasions.

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On

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Sunday 13

On the 13th of July, a considerable number of natives visited the ship in this station, from whom we purchased furs of various kinds.—But it was observed by us, that they were not accompanied by their chiefs, or indeed any person of authority amongst them. They also brought us great plenty of salmon, which, in delicacy of flavour, far exceeded that of Nootka Sound, with large quantities of shell-fish, and the refreshing as well as salutary provision of wild onions, and fruits of their woods; with which nature had kindly furnished every part of the coast where we had any communication with the natives of it.

It was now the height of summer, the weather was warm and pleasant; and we very sensibly enjoyed the benign influence of the delightful season. Not a single patch of snow was visible on the summits of the lofty mountains which surrounded the sound. We could not, therefore, but derive a most refreshing satisfaction from our temporary repose in this calm and charming situation.

We embraced the present favourable opportunity to dispatch the long-boat, not only to explore the straits of de Fuca, but to procure,

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cure, if possible, some knowledge of the people of Shoalwater-Bay. She was, therefore, properly equipped for the occasion, was manned with thirteen of our people, and furnished with provisions for a month. The command of her was given to Mr. Robert Duffin, our first officer, to whom written instructions were delivered, by which he was to govern himself in the conduct of this little expedition.—On the 13th, the boat departed on its voyage of discovery.

The crew employed on this occasion, added to the party we had spared for the service of King George's Sound, had so diminished our ship's company, that it became absolutely necessary for us to put ourselves in the best possible state of preparation, in case our present neighbours, who are a numerous, bold, and powerful people, should be tempted by a knowledge of our weakness to make an attack. All the guns were therefore mounted; the arms got ready for service, and orders issued that none of the natives should, on any pretence whatever, be suffered to come on board the ship.

Immediately after the departure of the long-boat, a considerable number of canoes

1788. from the Northward, came along-side us,
JULY. few, if any, of which contained less than thirty men, and many of them more, besides women and children. Among our visitors we recollected the faces of several whom we had already seen at Port Cox, of which place they were inhabitants. The others were natives of the Western shore which stretches down to the straits, and which forms a part of the extensive territories of Wicananish. That prince, it seemed, had lately given a splendid feast to a large number of his principal subjects; and from the great quantity of those articles he had received from us, which we now perceived among them, there was every reason to suppose that he had added to the splendour of his banquet, by dividing his treasures among those who had the honour of being invited to it.

Saturday 20 Nothing material occurred till the 20th: the weather continued to be extremely fine, and our communication with the natives was on terms of reciprocal good understanding. They daily resorted to us with furs, fish and vegetables, and sometimes an occasional present of very fine venison added its luxury to the
the

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the common plenty of our table. But in our present state of inactivity, the situation of the long-boat was continually pressing home upon our minds with the hopes of success, or the fears of calamity. The savage nature of the people who inhabited the parts which our friends were gone to explore, operated to alarm the one; at the same time that our confidence in their skill, courage, and good conduct, animated the other.— While, however, our imaginations were following them in their voyage, with the most affectionate solicitude, they were on the verge of destruction, and threatened with sharing the abhorrent fate of their countrymen who were devoured by the cannibals of Queenhithe.

On the evening of the 20th, we saw the sails of the long-boat in the offing; but the sudden impulse of our unreflecting joy on the occasion, was immediately checked by the apprehensions that naturally arose in our minds from her early return. The interval of her arrival at the ship was a period of very painful suspense to every one on board: at length, to our inexpressible satisfaction, we observed, on her coming along-side,



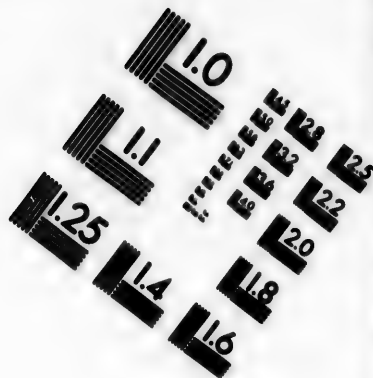
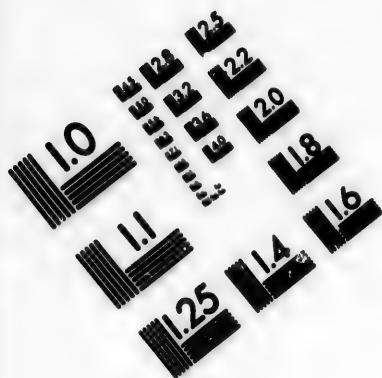
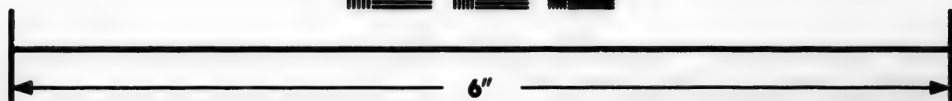
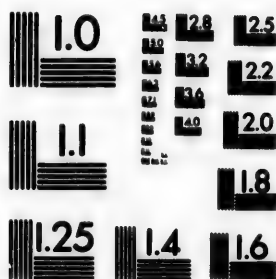


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side, that not an individual was missing.— Our immediate attention, however, was called to the assistance of some wounded men, who had suffered severely in a very violent conflict the boat had sustained with the natives of the straits, and which was the cause of her sudden return.

The whole attention of the ship was now transferred to our wounded people; but though several of them were much hurt, we were consoled with finding that no mortal injury had been received by any. The officer was wounded by a barbed arrow in the head, which would have killed him on the spot, if a thick hat had not deadened the force of the weapon. One of the seamen was pierced in the breast, and another in the calf of the leg, into which the arrow had entered so far as to render a very large incision absolutely necessary, in order to discharge it. A fourth received a wound very near the heart, but the weapon which gave it, very fortunately fell short of the vital parts. The rest of the people were bruised in a terrible manner by the stones and clubs of the enemy; even the boat itself was pierced in a thousand places by arrows,

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rows, many of which remained in the awning that covered the back part of it ; and which, by receiving the arrows, and breaking the fall of large stones thrown from slings, in a great measure saved our party from inevitable destruction.

In this engagement the natives behaved with a spirit and resolution that resisted the usual terror of fire-arms among a savage people ; for the contest was close, and for some time our men fought for their lives.— One of them had been singled out by an individual savage for his victim, and a fierce engagement took place between them.— The native was armed with a stone bludgeon, and the sailor with a cutlass. They both manifested, for some time, equal courage and dexterity ; but if an intervening oar had not broke a blow, armed with all the force of his enemy, our brave countryman must have sunk beneath it. It however failed of its object, and gave him an opportunity, by a severe stroke of the cutlass, to deprive the native of an arm, who, notwithstanding such a loss, and several other wounds, contrived to swim from the boat, indebted for his life to the noble mercy of his conqueror,

1788. queror, who disdained to kill him in the
JULY. water.

The seaman who was wounded in the leg, continued, during the action, with the arrow in his flesh; and without attempting to rid himself of the torturing weapon, became, by his courageous and active exertions, a very principal instrument in preserving the boat.

Though we had never had any intercourse or communication with the inhabitants of the straits, we had indulged ourselves with the hope that our friendly conduct towards their neighbours, might, by some means, have reached the district of their habitation, and given them favourable impressions of us: but their conduct marked the most savage and bloody hostility; and the fury of their onset compelled a similar spirit of resistance: but to do justice to the humanity of our people,—notwithstanding the actual sufferings of many of them, and the cruel fate which they well knew would have been the certain allotment of them all, had they lost the day,—they never failed, in recounting the circumstances of it, to express an unfeigned concern for the unhappy people
who

who had so rashly courted their own destruction. 1788.
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The attack was begun by the savages,—who boarded the boat, with the design of taking her, in two canoes, containing between forty and fifty men, who were most probably some of their choicest warriors. Several other canoes also remained at a small distance, to assist in the attempt; and the shore was every where lined with people, who discharged at our vessel continual showers of stones and arrows. A chief in one of the canoes, who encouraged the advance of the others, was most fortunately shot in the head with a single ball, while in the very act of throwing a spear of a most enormous length at the cockswain. This circumstance caused the canoes to draw back, and deprived the natives who were already engaged, of that support which must have ensured them the victory.—Indeed, as it was, when we consider that the boat's company consisted only of thirteen men, who were attacked with the most courageous fury by superior numbers, and galled as these were, at the same moment, by the numerous weapons constantly discharged from

1788. from the shore, their escape is to be num-
JULY. bered among those favourable events of life,
which never fail to excite, in well ordered
minds, a mingled sensation of gratitude and
astonishment.

The boat had advanced a considerable way
up the Straits of de Fuca, and had entered
a bay or harbour; when, as our people
were preparing to land, for the purpose of
examining it, they were attacked by the na-
tives, as has been just related; and, of
course, effectually obstructed in the pursuit
of their original design. From this station,
however, they observed, that the straits to
the East North East appeared to be of great
extent, and to encrease rather than diminish.

As they returned down the straits, they
were met by a small canoe paddled by two
men, who were the subjects of Wicananish,
and from whom they purchased some fish.
But words cannot express the surprise and
abhorrence of our people, when these sa-
vages held up two human heads, but just
cut off, and still streaming with blood, by
way of offering them to sale. They held
these detestable objects by the hair with
an air of triumph and exultation; and, when
the

the crew of the boat discovered signs of disgust and detestation at such an horrid spectacle, the savages, in a tone, and with looks of extreme satisfaction, informed them, that they were the heads of two people belonging to Tatootche, whom they had murdered, as that chief had lately declared war against Wicananish. This circumstance threw a damp upon the spirits of the crew, which continued, more or less, through the whole of the voyage.

Though the boat had not succeeded in the principal object of our expedition, yet it did not return without being able to communicate some knowledge of the straits of de Fuca. She had sailed near thirty leagues up the strait, and at that distance from the sea it was about fifteen leagues broad, with a clear horizon stretching to the East for 15 leagues more.—Such an extraordinary circumstance filled us with strange conjectures as to the extremity of this strait, which we concluded, at all events, could not be at any great distance from Hudson's Bay:—An opinion which is considered at large in the Introduction to these volumes.

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We were now obliged to give up all hope of obtaining any further satisfaction concerning the extent of the straits, or of the particulars of Shoalwater Bay, at least for this season. We therefore prepared to return with all possible expedition to join our party in King George's Sound.

Monday 21

On the 21st, we put to sea with the tide of ebb, and by noon we were entirely clear of the Sound. Our latitude was $48^{\circ} 41'$ North, and Port Effingham bore North West by North, at the distance of five miles.

During our stay in this port, we were visited by a great variety of people, who resided at different places between Port Cox and the island of Tatootche. But none of those who inhabit the country up the strait ventured to approach us: perhaps the fear of Tatootche, whose island is situated at the very entrance, and is said to contain near five thousand people, might prevent them from coming to the ship.

In this station we procured a considerable quantity of very fine sea-otter skins, with abundance of fish, consisting of salmon, halibut, herrings, sardonies, cod, trout, and rock-fish. We were also furnished with a

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continual supply of vegetables and fruits of the woods; particularly a kind of wild currant, which grows on trees of a tolerable size. 1788. JULY.

The sound is, by no means, so extensive as that of Nootka. It affords, however, several places of shelter, but none of them are so commodious as Port Effingham, which is entirely secure from all winds. The coast every where abounds with timber for ship-building, and which would form the finest masts and spars in the world.

During the whole of the 22d the wind Tuesday 22
blew from the West North West, with which we stood to sea to the South West, till noon of the 23d, when the latitude was Wednesday 23
48° 36' North. — At this time we had made so considerable an offing that we lost sight of land; when, at three in the afternoon, the wind veering to the South West, we tacked and stood to the West North West, to make the land.

In the morning of the 24th, the wind Thursday 24
shifted to the Southward, which brought thick, hazy weather, and of course prevented us from closing with the shore. — Towards noon, however, it cleared away,

1788. and the latitude was $49^{\circ} 40'$ North : but we
JULY. scarcely had taken the meridian, when the fog returned, and on sounding, we had no more than twenty fathoms of water ; on which we tacked immediately and stood to sea. At four o'clock it again cleared up, when Breaker's Point was seen bearing East by South, distant four leagues, and our distance from the land was only three leagues ; so that when we tacked, we must have been close on board it.

Friday 25 The thick, misty weather did not entirely clear away till the morning of the 25th, when the entrance of King George's Sound was seen bearing East North East, at the distance of six leagues ; but it again came on so very foggy, that it would have been imprudence in the extreme to have run for the land.

Saturday 26 About eight o'clock in the morning of the 26th, we happily anchored safe in Friendly Cove ; when we enjoyed the very great satisfaction of finding our friends in perfect health and security, as well as the vessel in a forward state of advancement : she was completely in frame, part of her
sides

sides were planked, her decks laid, and most of her iron work finished.

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During our absence a considerable quantity of furs had been collected, not only from the natives, but from various companies of strangers, whom the fame of the vessel had induced to visit Nootka, in order to satisfy their curiosity with the sight of such an object.

Maquilla had scrupulously adhered to every part of his engagement, and the faithful Callicum had attended to the welfare and safety of our people, with the vigilance of honour, and the affection of friendship: the inhabitants of the village in his jurisdiction, not only brought daily and plentiful supplies of fish and other provisions to the house, but gave the party every assistance in their power, by his immediate orders. Nor is it possible for us to relate his zealous regard and unshaken attachment to us, without lamenting the unmerited fate he received, from the unfeeling and execrable conduct of men who were natives of the most enlightened quarter of the globe, and boast the profession of a religion of peace and mercy.

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C H A P. XVII.

Anxiety of the Party on Shore on Account of the Ship.—Reports spread by the Natives.—Knowledge obtained by the Party of our Engagement in the Straits of De Fuca, and its Consequence.—Improvement made in the House, &c. during the Absence of the FELICE.—The Astonishment of the Natives at the Building of the Vessel, with their peculiar Attention to the Employment of the Smiths.—Our Observation of the Sabbath an Object of particular Curiosity to the Natives.—Some Knowledge of their Religion derived from thence.—Design of proceeding again to Port Cox.—Reasons assigned for not stopping there on our Return from Port Effingham.—Our Intentions frustrated.—Mutiny on Board.—The Persons concerned in it turned on Shore.—The Reasons for such a Measure, &c.

IF, during our progress to the Southward, we felt at times a very poignant anxiety for the safety and welfare of those whom we had left on shore, it cannot be supposed, for a moment, that they were not affected by

by similar sensations for their friends on board the Felice; who were gone to encounter the dangers of those seas where it was doubted that ever ship had ploughed the water, and to explore those coasts which they did not suppose an European foot had ever trod.—Their solicitude was equal to our own; and their intervals of labour were constantly employed in counting the hours of our absence,—offering up prayers for our safety,—and joining in wishes for our return.—But this was not all—the natural concern they must feel on our account, was heightened into the most painful alarm, from a report brought them by some of the subjects of Wicananish, which contained an account of our having been attacked by the people of Tatootche, who had cut to pieces a part of the crew of the Felice; and that the principal officers were among those who had fallen in the contest.—Such a relation, which could not be supposed, by the most incredulous of our people, to be a mere invention, threw them into a state of confusion that checked the growing ardour of their exertions, and cast a gloom over them which the utmost efforts of their resolution

1788.

July.

1788. solution, and the spirit necessary to encounter
JULY. a repeated accession of difficulties, was not
able entirely to dissipate.—This report, however, proved to be an entire fabrication of those who brought it, as it was previous to the action of our long-boat with the natives of the Straits, which might have, in some degree, justified an exaggerated account of that unfortunate event. From what motives this falsehood was fabricated, we never could discover, or, indeed, form any thing like a satisfactory conjecture. A full and faithful account, however, of our proceedings in Port Effingham, and a particular description of our wounded seamen, was brought to Nootka Sound, by a native of that port, who had arrived to dispose of a cargo of furs to Maquilla.

Among other unpleasant consequences of this report, it put an end, for some time, to all communication between the natives of King George's Sound and the house; and occasioned our people, who were under the afflicting apprehensions that they should never see us more, to redouble their precautions till the arrival of the *Iphigenia*.—Their joy, therefore, may be more easily conceived than

than described, when they saw the Felice enter the Sound, and beheld every person on board in health and spirits, who had departed with her. 1788. JULY.

The situation and circumstances in which we found our little colony at our return, very evidently proved their diligence, as well as attention to the orders left with them for their conduct during our absence. The house had been rendered perfectly secure from any attack of the natives, though they should have employed their whole force against it. A palisado of strong stakes, with a well-formed fence of thick bushes, had rendered our ground, in a great measure, impregnable. Various other improvements of less consequence, had been made, as new ideas of convenience and utility suggested themselves, which, altogether, gave the place an appearance of a little dock-yard, and not only engrossed the attention, but excited the astonishment of the Nootkan people.

Our absence from the Sound had been only one month and twenty-five days; and in this time, as we have already particularized, a very expeditious advance had been

1788. been made in the vessel.—She was, as may
JULY. be very naturally supposed, an object of great
curiosity among the natives, who could
never be persuaded that such a body of
timber would find a power equal to the re-
moval of it from the stocks on which it was
building.—But their most inquisitive atten-
tion employed itself on the workshop of the
smiths, and the operation of the forges.—
Their simple minds, in a state so distant
from the knowledge of enlightened nature
and the cultivated world, beheld, with all
the extravagance of infantine delight, the
mechanic skill of our artificers.—Nor was
their interest less engaged than their curio-
sity, in attending to those powers which
fabricated the variety of articles that added
so much to the pride, the pleasure, and the
convenience of their lives.—Indeed they
were continually making application to have
iron forged into forms of use or ornament ;
and so very fickle were they in the objects
of their fancy, that it became a matter of
considerable trouble to satisfy their varying
inclinations.—It was therefore determined
to turn this changeful disposition to our
own advantage, by enhancing the value of
indulging

indulging it; in consequence of which regulation, the daily supply of provisions was considerably augmented, and fish and fruit were brought in encreasing abundance.

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JULY.

The 27th, being Sunday, the crew had Sunday 27 leave to amuse themselves with a ramble on shore. The weather was extremely pleasant,—the air was genial,—and every one wore in his looks the satisfaction he felt, on enjoying a cessation from labour, and the indulgence of ease and security.—Indeed it was our constant custom to pay all possible respect to the sabbath, and to fulfill its design, whenever it was in our power, by making it a day of rest.

The natives could not, at first, comprehend why all our occupations stood still on this day:—but the different cloathing of the men, and particularly, the clean faces of the smiths and armourers, awakened their curiosity so far as to produce an enquiry of us concerning this incomprehensible regulation.—The manner of their receiving our explanation, gave us some insight into their religion, which will be the subject of a future page.

On

1788.
JULY.
Monday 28

On the 28th, we resumed our work, and a large party was sent into the woods to fell timber, for the purpose of planking the vessel, which was a very laborious business, as there were large logs to be conveyed upwards of a mile, through a thick forest, to our little dock-yard.—The remainder of the crew were employed, either in making cordage, assisting the carpenters, or preparing the ship for sea.

It was now determined to put our design in execution of proceeding in a few days to Port Cox, to pay another commercial visit to Wicananish. It was, indeed, our original intention to have taken that place in our way back from Port Effingham; but the accident of the long-boat, in the Straits of de Fuca, and our impatience to return to our friends in the Sound, predominated over every other consideration. But as we were now perfectly satisfied as to the situation and progress of the party at Nootka, it was agreed to proceed again to sea, as we expected to reap very considerable advantages from the numerous hunters of Wicananish, who, we had every reason to suppose, would, by this time, have accumulated a very large quantity

tity of furs. Nor did we hesitate to believe, that our reception from that chief would be more gracious, as it was now in our power to replenish his coffers with such an inestimable article as a copper tea-kettle. But this design was unfortunately frustrated by a very dangerous mutiny again breaking out, which was pregnant with consequences of the most alarming nature.

This mutiny was headed by the disgraced boatswain, and the best men in the ship.— They made a desperate attempt to seize the arms and put the first officer to death, who was left to take care of the ship; as every other person in command was on shore, in the engagement of his duty, or for the purpose of recreation. The time which was chosen for this enterprize was well imagined, as it was in the evening, on their return from the woods, and when, as we first observed, there was but one officer on board.

Ever since the first symptoms of mutiny appeared off the Philippines, the arms had been removed from the quarter-deck to the cabin; and this precaution saved the ship: for the officer having fortunately gained the cabin before the mutineers, he placed him-

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self

1788.

JULY.

1788. self at the door with a loaded blunderbuss,
JULY. and kept them from advancing, while he called aloud for assistance. It was a fortunate circumstance that most of the officers were sitting on the quarter-deck of the new vessel, which was not more than an hundred yards from the ship. We therefore instantly heard the alarm through the cabin-window, and did not delay an instant in getting on board.

The first step we took was to arm ourselves: — when, being thus prepared, we turned the crew on deck, as we were determined to face the business on the instant. We well knew that there were many good men in the ship; and we resolved, if possible, to separate them from the rest, before they were prevailed on, by any means, to join in the plot. The crew being now all on deck, it instantly appeared who were the ringleaders in the business, though we had some reason to apprehend that the mutiny was a matter of general agreement. We then informed them that it was our determination to proceed to extremities; and warned such as were disposed to be obedient, to separate themselves from the rest: —when,

—when, on presenting our arms, most of the crew came over to us, leaving eight turbulent fellows, headed by the discarded boatswain, who remained deaf to all our persuasions to return to their duty.—As we were now very superior in numbers, we hoped to settle the matter without shedding a drop of blood on the occasion. We therefore left them the alternative, either to go into irons, or be turned on shore among the savages. They preferred the latter,—and were immediately landed, with every thing that individually belonged to them.

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JULY.

They were no sooner gone than good order and discipline were restored. Instructions, however, were sent to the party on shore, not to permit the mutinous people to find a shelter at the house, or to be admitted to any communication with them. A strict watch was also kept on board, as we were not, by any means, without our doubts concerning the dispositions of the rest of the crew.

We were not informed of the whole extent of the plot till the following day, when one of the sailors came and gave a voluntary account of it. Almost all the crew

Tuesday 29

1788. had signed a paper, by which they bound
JULY. themselves to join in getting possession of
the ship, when they were immediately to
quit the coast of America, and steer their
course to the Sandwich Islands; from whence
they proposed to make the best of their way
to some port where they might dispose of
their valuable cargo.—As they had taken
care to destroy the writing, we could not
discover what their intentions were with
respect to the officers,—but the best treat-
ment they could have expected, would have
been to be left at Nootka. Every individual
of the crew, remaining on board, was eager
to exculpate himself; and they all joined in
declaring, that the menaces of the ringlead-
ers alone wrung from them a temporary
consent to join in the mutiny; and the
fear of being instantly murdered, was the
only cause of preventing them from giving
notice of the plot to the officers of the ship.

Had we been acquainted with these cir-
cumstances on the preceding evening, in all
probability it would not have passed without
bloodshed; but our ignorance of them for-
tunately preserved us from such a catastro-
phe. The ringleaders were now, at least
removed

removed from any opportunity of doing mischief, by being clear of the ship; for, besides the attention they would have required, had they been kept in irons,—we could not, even in such a situation, have prevented their communication with the other seamen; which might have been employed in creating discontents, if not in endeavouring to form new plans for effecting their atrocious purposes. We determined therefore that they should remain on shore, at least till the arrival of the *Iphigenia*.

1788.
JULY.

1788.

JULY.

C H A P. XVIII.

Conduct of the Party on Shore respecting the Mutiny.—Promise made to the Crew to go to the Sandwich Islands.—Occupation of the Ship's Company.—The Mutineers go to live with Maquilla and Callicum.—They are stripped of their Cloaths, and made to work.—Princess Royal seen in the Offing.—Prepare for Sea.—Quit King George's Sound a second Time.—Presents made to Maquilla and Callicum.—Those Chiefs prepare for War.—Arms lent to them.—Strength of Maquilla's Forces.—He departs on his Expedition to the Northward.—Instructions given to the Party on Shore.

THIS disturbance on board the ship occasioned, at first, no little uneasiness as to the influence it might have on the remaining part of our voyage; but we were not only consoled, but encouraged in favourable expectations, by the conduct of the party on shore, who not only declared their detestation and abhorrence of the mutinous designs,

designs, in the most forcible terms, but took every method which their understandings could suggest, to satisfy us of their obedient disposition and sense of duty.— They renewed their assurances of fidelity to us in the most solemn manner, and we did not withhold the confidence we believed them to deserve.

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JULY.

This mutiny surprised us the more, as no relaxation of duty had taken place since our departure from China. The crew had been kept strictly to the various occupations which our circumstances required, but without that rigour which begets discontent; and they most certainly did not enjoy the leisure which idleness so often appropriates mischief. As to the folly of their design, that is not a matter which will justify a moment's wonder. It is very fortunate for mankind that wickedness so often wants judgment: in this case, the design of running away with the ship arose from little more than the impatience of their passions to get to the Sandwich Islands, which we had declared to be a part of our voyage, and where they longed to solace themselves in the enjoyments afforded by those voluptuous

1788. abodes.—As to any subsequent arrangements, they had probably left them, with all the improvidence of a sailor's character, to the chance of future determination.

JULY.

Indeed,—nor was it unnatural,—the obedient as well as disorderly part of the crew, looked with some degree of impatience to a period when they should change the desert shores of Nootka, and the nauseating customs of its inhabitants, for the genial climate, the luxurious abundance, and the gratifying pleasures of the Sandwich Islands. Nor was our departure from St. George's Sound less anxiously desired by many of the crew, from the reflection that cannibals inhabited its shores,—and that the fate which had befallen their countrymen at Queenhithe, might, from some untoward cause or other, happen to them. Indeed, as we have before observed, the idea of being eaten by the Americans, absolutely haunted the imaginations and preyed upon the spirits of many of our people.—We therefore thought proper to renew our promises of going to the Sandwich Islands, and the eyes of every one sparkled at the thought.

The

The diminution of our ship's company, from the press of employment on shore, and separation of the mutinous seamen, prevented us from leaving King George's Sound, to make another voyage to Port Cox, as we had intended. The sails were therefore unbent, the running-rigging unreefed, and we prepared to give the carpenters every assistance in our power towards finishing the vessel on the stocks. For this purpose, additional saw-pits were dug, and men sent to be employed in them; new supplies of timber were also brought from the woods, and an additional party was spared from the ship to assist in making cordage, and the other occupations of our little dock-yard. At the same time, the necessary stores were landed for the use of the house; and as the smiths had exhausted themselves of iron, their workshop was replenished with a considerable quantity of that essential article.

Though at our departure from China we possessed plenty of stores of every kind, their consumption had been so great in the various services which demanded them, that we were, at length, under the necessity of resorting to the produce of the country, and

1788. the exertions of our own ingenuity, to supply
JULY. their decreasing or exhausted state. All our sea-coal being expended, we made charcoal with great facility, which the smiths preferred to the other. The turpentine, which we got from trees in great abundance, was found to be of great service in paying the planks, to keep them from rending; and, when mixed with oil, of which we could procure any quantity, it proved a very useful succedaneum for tar.—The red ochre which the natives employed to paint their faces, we purchased from them:—In short, there were very few, if any articles, to be procured at Nootka, which we did not contrive to turn to very good account, and which we purposely purchased, to preserve the communication of good offices between us and the people, and to keep alive their activity to serve us.

Necessity, that mother of invention, taught us, in this remote corner of the globe, to look for aid to those sources on which we did not deign to cast an eye, while we possessed a store of such materials as flow from the superior knowledge of cultivated society: while perseverance, that all-sub-

duing principle of human action, produced for us on the unfrequented shores of America, somewhat of the conveniencies, and a successful imitation of those arts which may be considered as the natural growth of Europe.

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JULY.

The mutinous seamen immediately built themselves a large hut, in which they resided, beneath whose leafy roof they had full leisure to contemplate on their past villainy; and, as their different characters might operate, to curse the ill-fortune that befel, or lament the wicked spirit that misled them. They, indeed, suffered severely for their disobedient conduct, and seemed to cast a wishful eye to the floating habitation from which they were banished; for all communication was now shut up between them and the house, as well as the ship;—but we well knew that a very little portion of industry would be sufficient to supply them with fish; and to enable them to gain a support from the sea, we purchased a canoe, and sent it to them, as the last favour or attention they were to expect from us.

On the day after the mutiny had appeared, Maquilla and Callicum came on

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board,

VOYAGES TO THE

1788. board, to prove their friendship, by offering
JULY. such services as the peculiar exigency of our
situation might require. Till this circum-
stance led us to explain the real condition of
our seamen, the chiefs had considered them
in the light of slaves; and had already com-
plimented us, with some mixture of sur-
prise, on the extraordinary mildness of our
conduct towards the crime of rebellion in a
people of their supposed condition. Nay,
Maquilla, from an apparent horror of the
offence, and a forward zeal for our security,
had taken some of the officers aside, and
seriously asked permission to collect some of
his people, and put the mutineers to instant
death. The request, as may be supposed,
was not only refused, but treated with the
strongest marks of displeasure; and so well
disposed was Maquilla to put his project in
execution, that we were obliged to accom-
pany our refusal with repeated signs of ab-
horrence, in order to prevent it. Callicum,
however, acted in the business with more
prudence and understanding:—He wished
to assist in punishing the offenders by a mode
that he knew could not be disagreeable, to us
and would be sufficiently mortifying to them.

When,

1788.

JULY.

When, therefore, he understood that these unhappy people were banished from the ship, he requested our permission to receive them into his house ; and as we were well assured that the best hospitality even of a Nootkan chief, would be a very severe punishment to a British sailor,—we readily consented to his proposition, on his assuring us, at the same time, that his new guests should be secure from any personal injury whatever.

This business being arranged, we left the discarded people to their new guardians, and turned our thoughts to matters of more immediate importance. On the following day, to our great surprise, and as we are ready to acknowledge, to our no little satisfaction, we saw our sturdy and resolute mutineers employed in fetching water, and other menial services, in the execution of which, slaves alone are employed at Nootka. Nor were they suffered to quit the house of Callicum on any occasion whatever, without being attended by natives of the lowest condition, to whose care and command they were entrusted. This compulsory labour must have been a very mortifying circumstance to them ; as, rather than employ the canoe we had

1788. had given them to get fish for themselves, they had been so lazy as to part with some of their cloathing to purchase that article from the natives. The chiefs, however, soon took care to secure their cloaths to themselves; and, without being guilty of injustice to our friends, we are obliged to attribute their several propofals concerning the offenders, though we did not at first suspect their motives, to the desire of getting possession of the several garments that covered them. That object was easily obtained; and when these unhappy men had given up their all, they were forced to go to sea, to assist in procuring fish,—not for themselves, but for the families of their new masters.

AUGUST.
Wednesday 6

We continued our various operations with the most indefatigable industry and attention, and nothing material happened till the 6th of August; when, about noon, a sail was seen in the offing, which we knew to be the Princess Royal. She appeared, at first, as if standing in for the Sound, but the weather becoming soon after thick and hazy, we lost sight of her. On the arrival of this vessel on the coast, we determined immediately to prepare

prepare for sea, as the presence of this ship would be an additional security to our party; and, notwithstanding the diminished state of our crew, we were now resolved to venture to Port Cox, to possess ourselves of the furs which, we had every reason to believe, must have been collected for us by Wicananish: a plan which would have been already executed, if we had not been impeded by the mutinous conduct of our crew.

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AUGUST.

On the 7th, the Princess Royal again appeared in the offing, and was again obscured from our view, by the return of thick, misty weather.

Thursday 7

On the 8th, we were ready for sea,—and as we saw nothing of the Princess Royal, we became very apprehensive that she might reach the shores of Wicananish before us, and be able to tempt that chief, by various articles of novelty on board her, to intrude upon the treaty he had made with us. We, therefore, did not delay a moment to sail from the Sound, with a gentle breeze of wind from the Westward, and proceeded to Port Cox.

Friday 8

Previous to our departure, we confirmed our friendship with Maquilla and Callicum, with

with

1788. with the usual interchange of presents.—

AUGUST. These chiefs had been for some time preparing for an hostile expedition against an enemy at a considerable distance to the Northward, and were now on the point of setting forward. Some of the nations in the vicinity of the Northern Archipelago, had, it seems, invaded a village about twenty leagues to the Northward of King George's Sound, under the jurisdiction, and which had been left to the particular government of his grandmother.

At this place the enemy had done considerable mischief,—murdering some of the people, and carrying others into captivity. On the arrival of a messenger at Nootka with the news of these hostilities, the inhabitants became instantly inflamed with a most active impatience for revenge; and nothing was thought of amongst them, but the means of gratifying it.

We embraced this opportunity of binding the chiefs, if possible, unalterably to us, by furnishing them with some fire-arms and ammunition, which would give them a very decided advantage over their enemies. Indeed we felt it to be our interest that

that they should not be disturbed and interrupted by distant wars; and that, if necessity should compel them to battle, that they should return victorious. This unexpected acquisition of force animated them with new vigour; for they had already confessed that they were going to attack an enemy who was more powerful, numerous and savage than themselves.

1788.
AUGUST,

We attempted to instill into their minds the humanity of war,—and they had actually promised to punish the enemies they should take in battle with captivity, and not, as had been their general practice, with death. But it could not be supposed that the doctrines of our humane policy would be remembered by a savage nation burning with revenge, in the moment of battle; and we are sorry to add, that this expedition ended in a most shocking scene of blood and massacre.

The power that Maquilla carried with him on this occasion, was of a formidable nature. His war canoes contained each thirty young, athletic men, and there were twenty of these vessels, which had been drawn from the different villages under the subjection of

1788. of Maquilla.—Comekela had the command
AUGUST. of two boats:—They moved off from the
shore in solemn order, singing their song of
war. The chiefs were cloathed in sea-otter
skins; and the whole army had their faces
and bodies painted with red ochre, and
sprinkled with a shining sand, which, parti-
cularly when the sun shone on them, pro-
duced a fierce and terrible appearance.—
While the women encouraged the warriors,
in the patriotic language of the Spartan
dames,—to return victorious, or to return
no more.

The battles, or rather the attacks of these
savage tribes, are, we believe, inconceivably
furious, and attended with the most shocking
actions of barbarous ferocity. They do not
carry on hostilities by regular conflicts; but
their revenge is gratified, their sanguinary
appetites quenched, or their laurels obtained
by the operations of sudden enterprize and
active stratagem.

The instructions we left with our party
on shore were such as the circumstances of
the case required. They were requested to
maintain, and if possible to augment their
former vigilance; particularly if any stran-
gers

gers should arrive in the Sound. And if 1788.
 it should happen that our friends were van- AUGUST.
 quished, and pursued to Nootka, that they
 should take a decided and active part in their
 support. They were also desired not to let
 their humanity operate to the renewal of
 any communication with the banished sea-
 men,—but to leave them to the lamented
 hardships of their condition, and the pain-
 ful struggles of their repentance.

C H A P.

1788.

AUGUST.

C H A P. XIX.

Set sail for Port Cox.—Meet the Princess Royal.—Reciprocal good Offices.—Anchor in Port Cox.—Princess Royal anchors in Port Hanna.—Wicananish removed to Cliquatt.—Long-boat sent there at two different Times, with Presents, &c.—Description of Cliquatt.—Occupations of the Natives.—Brisk Trade with them.—The Long-boat sent a third Time to Wicananish, on taking leave.—Message from that Chief, who afterwards arrives on board.—His Son proposes to embark with us, which we decline.—Put to Sea, and Anchor again in King George's Sound.—The Arrival of the IPHIGENIA.—Tianna's affectionate Behaviour, &c.—Arrival of Maquilla and Callicum, and an Account of their Expedition, &c.

WE had but just cleared the mouth of the Sound, when a thick fog arose, which obliged us to heave to.—In the evening, however, it cleared away, when we saw the Princess Royal within two or three miles

miles of us, to the windward ; and, on perceiving us, she fired a gun to leeward and hoisted her ensign. We returned the signal, and she immediately bore up and spoke to us.

1788.
AUGUST.

I instantly ordered out the boat, and went on board the *Princess Royal*. I had no personal knowledge of Captain Duncan, who commanded her ;—but I had received full information in China of the object and extent of her voyage ; and I now felt the most anxious desire to offer any service to him and his little crew which he might want, or it might be in my power to afford.—Far from feeling the most distant impulse of any miserable consideration, arising from a competition of interests, I profess myself to have been animated by no other desires but those which arose from my duty, as a man and an Englishman. The *Princess Royal* was not quite fifty tons burthen, and manned by fifteen men ; and when it is known that she had doubled Cape Horn, and navigated the great Northern and Southern Pacific Oceans, some idea may be formed of the distresses her people must have suffered, as well as of the ability and indefatigable spirit of the commander. Indeed, there is every reason to

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believe

1788. believe that this little vessel accomplished
AUGUST. more for the benefit of her owners, than any
ship that ever sailed to the North Western
Coast of America.

Captain Duncan received me, with the whole of his crew, upon deck,—whom I could not but regard, as he conducted me to his cabin, with an eye of applausive astonishment. The first question which Captain Duncan asked me was, concerning the fate of the ship Nootka, about which he expressed an extreme anxiety. He had heard of the various misfortunes that had befallen her, and was expressing his doubts as to the possibility of her reaching China,—when I at once calmed his friendly apprehensions, by assuring him I myself commanded the Nootka in that distressful voyage which had excited his compassion; and that he beheld me engaged, at this moment, in an amicable contest with him for the favours of fortune. His astonishment almost superseded his belief on the occasion; and, knowing what I had suffered in my former voyage, he could scarce conceive it to be within the reach of possibility, that I should be already re-embarked

barked in an adventure on the American Coast. 1788.
August.

The Princess Royal had been out near twenty months from England, and was in want of many articles, without which it is astonishing she could have continued her voyage. — Though harassed with fatiguing duty, and in a climate and season where the severity of the weather required the aid of invigorating cordials, their stock of liquors had long been exhausted. We were extremely happy in being able to supply them with a small quantity; when Captain Duncan, in return, made us an unreserved offer of any thing his little vessel afforded *.

Destined as we were to be employed on a remote and unfrequented coast, and liable to all the hardships and inclemencies of such

* On enquiring of Captain Duncan concerning his distressed condition, he told me that he had met Captain Dixon, in the Queen Charlotte; and though that ship was on her return to China, and abundantly stocked with every thing; and even though she belonged to the same owners with the Princess Royal, the provident commander thought it much better to carry all his stores back to China, than to spare any of them to the latter vessel, though they would have been so great an alleviation to the hardships of her voyage.

1788. a situation, we felt an equal sympathy for
AUGUST. our common allotment, and a mutual inclination to relieve, as far our power extended, the mutual inconveniencies of it.

We now separated; when the Princess Royal pursued her course to the South South East, and we continued along shore.—She had nearly brought her voyage to a conclusion, and was proceeding to the Sandwich Islands, to take in refreshments, in order to return to China with her valuable cargo of furs.

About nine o'clock in the evening the wind veered to the East by South, which was immediately against us, and obliged us to tack and stand to sea.

Sunday 10

It was the morning of the 10th before we got down a-breast of Port Cox, when we found the Princess Royal had a few hours before arrived in a small bar harbour, where our friend Hanna, the chief, resided.—Captain Duncan sent his boat off to us, as we passed, to know if he should pilot us into the harbour; but as our intention was to enter Port Cox, we contented ourselves with thanking him for his kind attentions. His boat, however, accompanied us till we anchored

chored in the inner port, about five o'clock in the evening, when she quitted us to return to her ship; passing through the channels between the islands and the main, the distance being about fifteen miles.

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AUGUST.

The late Easterly winds had obliged the Princess Royal to shelter herself here, as well as to procure some wood and water, previous to her quitting the American coast.

On our arrival in Port Cox, we found that Wicananish had already removed to his winter quarters, which were up the harbour, and at the distance of between thirty and forty miles from the ship.

On the 11th, the long-boat was dispatched to the chief, with presents; and in the evening she returned, having met him at a small summer village, which was situated about twenty miles from the ship. He received the party with every mark of the most distinguishing regard; and, in return for our present, sent on board forty otter skins, of the most valuable species; and was pleased to make known his further wish, that the boat might be hereafter sent to his winter residence, whither he was then going.

Monday 11

X 3

On

1788. On the 12th, though the weather was
AUGUST. but indifferent, the long-boat was never-
Tuesday 12 theless dispatched to Wicananish, with a variety of articles for trade, and some flattering presents, amongst which the copper tea-kettle which had already been mentioned to him, was not forgotten, and whose arrival was eagerly expected by the whole family of the chief.

Thursday 14 The long-boat did not return till the 14th, when the officer gave us the following account of his little voyage.

On the morning of the 13th he arrived at Clioquatt, the winter residence of Wicananish, which consisted, like the other towns, of such houses as we have already described, but more commodiously constructed, possessing a greater share of their rude magnificence than any which we had yet seen.— It was very large and populous; and the dwelling of the chief much more capacious than that which he occupied in the village near the sea, when we first visited his territories. The inhabitants were, at this time, busily employed in packing up fish in mats, —securing the roes of them in bladders,—cutting whales into slices, and melting down blubber

blubber into oil, which they poured into seal-skins.—All this mighty preparation was the provident spirit of catering for the winter:—and the incredible quantities of these various provisions which our people saw collected, promised, at least, that famine would not be an evil of the approaching season.

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AUGUST.

On these shores the winter is the happy portion of the year which is appropriated to luxury and ease; nor are they then ever aroused into action, but to take some of those enormous whales, which, at that season, frequent their seas, in order to feast any of the neighbouring chiefs who may come to visit them.

Wicananish received all our presents with expressions of extreme satisfaction; but the kettle was honoured with his peculiar attention, and borne away by him with an air of triumph, to be placed among his treasures; and with repeated declarations, that no consideration whatever should again induce him to yield up such a valuable deposit. Twelve brass-hilted swords composed part of our offering, which were favoured with the most grateful admiration; and a great variety of articles had been purposely

1788. manufactured to suit the fancy of the women, who vied with each other in their cordial attentions to our people. A more brisk trade was then carried on with the inhabitants than we had hitherto experienced; a considerable quantity of furs were obtained, and the boat returned well freighted with the produce of the voyage, and her people perfectly satisfied with their reception from Wicananish.

Though we had every reason to be contented with our commercial success, we determined to send another embassy, which, if it did not produce any immediate advantage, might leave those impressions that would establish a rooted interest in our favour with the chief and his people. The long-boat was therefore, on the 18th, dispatched to the town, to take our farewell message, and, which was of more consequence, our farewell present to Wicananish. Indeed we proposed, on this occasion, to prove the disinterestedness of our friendship, by selecting such a variety of articles as would suit even the most varying fancy of this fickle people. —To these were also added several coats, profusely trimmed with buttons, and the head

head of a large copper still. This sumptuous present was ordered to be made on our part with a strict prohibition not to receive any thing in return. 1788. AUGUST.

The boat returned on the evening of the 19th, having punctually executed our orders; and having brought a message from the chief, that he proposed to visit the ship the next day; and therefore desired us to defer our departure for the purpose of receiving him.

On the 20th, we were accordingly visited by Wicananish, attended by his brother, his two sons, three of his wives, and a great number of people from the town, who attended their chief, in order to gain another opportunity of trading with us; and no small quantity of furs were, at this time, procured from them. The chief, however, presented us with several sea otter skins of the most valuable kind; and, though there was every reason to believe that he intended to rival us in generosity, by refusing to receive any return, he could not bring himself to send back a couple of muskets and a quantity of ammunition; which were too tempting to be resisted by the delicacy of his sentiments, and might

1783. might prove too useful in defending himself
AUGUST. against his powerful neighbour, Tatootche,
not to be received with the most grateful
satisfaction. He enquired, in the most affec-
tionate manner, how many moons would
pass away before our return; and solicited
us, in the strongest manner, to prefer his
port and harbour to every other.

One of his sons, a young man of about
nineteen years of age, expressed a very earnest
desire to depart with us; but this offer we
thought imprudent to decline, from a re-
collection of the anxiety we had suffered
on a former occasion, by receiving even the
amiable Tianna to our care and protection.
This youth was the most pleasing, in his
figure and appearance, of any person we had
seen on the American coast. He not only
appeared to be very quick and sagacious, but
to possess an amiable and docile disposition;
and we do not doubt, had he visited China,
but that he would have returned with far
different qualifications than Comekela, to
improve and adorn his country.

Wicananish and his people left us with
every token of sincere regret, and repeated
entreaties that we would soon return. —

Having

Having bid these generous people farewell, 1788.
we put to sea in the evening of the 20th; August.
and, without any material occurrence, anchored safe on the 24th, in our old situation in King George's Sound. Our absence had now occupied so short a space of time, that we felt nothing of that anxiety for our party at Nootka which we had experienced on our former separation. We found them all well, and the vessel considerably advanced. The carpenters had nearly planked her up, and her situation was such, that we proposed launching her on the 20th of September.

The exiled crew remained in the same unpleasant situation in which we had left them. Grief, pain and remorse had, we believe, been their constant companions, since they were banished from the ship;—at least their appearance was such as to justify us in forming such an opinion: and when the Felice entered Friendly Cove, we observed, as they viewed her from the beach, that the sight of her seemed, in some degree, to enliven their dejected countenances.

The time now approached when we had every reason to expect the Iphigenia, according to the instructions given her at our
sepa-

1788 separation.—We began to feel that anxiety
AUGUST. for her fate, which we, who knew the dangers she had to encounter, must naturally feel, when day after day passed on, and we saw no appearance of her. Our anxious eyes were continually wandering over the sea that washed the American Coast, in search of those sails which might mark the approach of our friends ; but for some time nothing was seen but a vast expanse of water, unenlivened by any object but, now and then, the solitary canoe of a Nootka fisherman. Thus alternately governed by hope and fear, by the expectation of soon seeing our companions again, and the apprehensions of never seeing them more, we passed the busy part of our time ; and, when our occupations were over, we used, in the evening, to walk on the shore, at the back of Friendly Cove, and interchange those reflections which had occurred in silence, during the labours and employment of the day.

In our evening walk on the 26th, while we were communicating our thoughts, and repeating our vaticinations concerning the Iphigenia, to our infinite joy a sail was seen
in

in the offing, which we were willing to conclude could be no other than that which we expected ; and, indeed, so it proved ; for, on the 27th in the morning, she anchored in Friendly Cove.

Such a meeting as this, obtained, as it deserved, a general celebration ; and orders were accordingly given that all work of every kind should be suspended ; that it might be a day of rest to the body, as well as of joy to the mind.—In short our little jubilee, on a distant and dreary coast, was passed with a degree of satisfaction and delight which the splendid festivities of polished nations have not always known. The relation of dangers that were past,—the pleasing renewals of private friendship,—the success which had attended our hazardous expeditions,—and the fair prospect that we should return home to enjoy the fruits of them, formed the subjects of our eager discourse ; while the happy hours were enlivened by convivial mirth and social pleasure.

It was, as may be well conceived, a great addition to our happiness that the crew of the Iphigenia were entirely recovered from

1788. the disorder which threatened them, at the
AUGUST. time of our separation, and now joined
us in full health and vigour. The joy of
Tianna at the sight of those friends whom
he had left with such poignant marks of
regret, was of a nature to delight all who
beheld the warm effusions of his grateful
mind, but cannot be conveyed to those who
did not behold it by any language of mine.
Nor were we insensible to the pleasure of
seeing him restored to us; so entirely recovered
from a disorder which had filled us
with apprehension that we should never see
him again. Indeed, from the general change
in his looks, and still wearing his fur cap
and other warm cloathing, with which he
had clad himself, during the cold season,
while the Iphigenia was in Prince William's
Sound and Cook's River,—we did not immediately
recognize the chief; but the violence of his
joy soon discovered him to us; and though it
might be more expressive, it was not more
sincere than our own. Indeed, such had ever
been the conciliating power of his manners,
that there was not a seaman in either ship,
that did not love Tianna as himself.

We

We had supposed that his satisfaction on seeing us once again, was compleat ; but we found it still capable of increase ;—for when he was informed that we proposed, in a very short time, to proceed to the Sandwich Islands,—his expressions of delight knew no bounds;—they were wild, fantastic and excessive ; and it was some time before they sunk into that state of moderation which qualified him to receive any fresh impressions of pleasure. The new vessel was reserved for that purpose ; and when it was pointed out, and he was made acquainted with its object, he regarded it with such a firm and fixed attention, as if his eyes would have darted from their sockets to the vessel : and till she was launched, he continued the constant companion of the carpenters, examining their operations and observing their progress. We encouraged this disposition ; and it is scarcely to be credited how much of a carpenter's profession he learned during the short time we remained at King George's Sound.

On the 27th, when we were visiting the village, Maquilla and Callicum returned from their war expedition ; and, on entering the

1788.
AUGUST.

1788. the Sound, their little army gave the shout of
AUGUST. victory. They certainly had obtained some advantages, as they brought home in their canoes several baskets, which they would not open in our presence, and were suspected by us, as it afterwards proved, by the confession of Callicum, to contain the heads of enemies whom they had slain in battle, to the amount of thirty; but this victory was not purchased without some loss on the side of the powers of Nootka.

The chiefs now returned the arms they had received from us, but the ammunition was entirely expended:—we perceived, indeed, that the muskets had been fired several times; and Callicum assured us that they had taken ample vengeance for the hostilities exercised against them; and had, besides, made a great booty of sea-otter skins, in which they were all arrayed.

The Sandwich Island Chief did not, as we first expected, discover any surprise at the sight of Maquilla and his army; but the frequent communication of the Iphigenia with the natives along the coast, from Cook's River to King George's Sound, had rendered them and their manners no longer an object of
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of novelty, as they had never been an object 1798.
of consideration in the eyes of Tianna. In- AUGUST.
deed, when he, with his fine colossal figure,
stood by Maquilla, who was rather of a low
stature, the difference was such, as not only
to strike every beholder, but even to affect
themselves with the different sensations of
an exulting or a wounded pride, which
would prevent any very cordial affection from
taking place between them. Tianna and
Comekela were old acquaintance, but by no
means intimate friends, as the former held
the latter in a very low degree of estimation;
and, accordingly, we did not observe any
very cordial appearance of joy at their pre-
sent meeting. As Comekela had been at
the Sandwich Islands, on his first leaving
America, the ship having stopped there for
refreshments, he was qualified to give Ma-
quilla an account not only of Tianna, but
the country from whence he came, and he
did it probably to the disadvantage of both.
At all events, Tianna held the customs of
Nootka in detestation; and could not bear
the idea of their cannibal appetites, without
expressing the most violent sensations of dis-
gust and abhorrence.

1788. Indeed, there was no comparison to be
AUGUST. made between the inhabitants and customs
of the Sandwich Islands and those among
whom we now resided, or of any part of the
continent of America.—The former are their
superiors in every thing that regards what
we should call the comforts of life, and
their approach to civilization. They attend
to a circumstance which particularly distin-
guishes polished from savage life, and that
is cleanliness:—they are not only clean to
an extreme in their food, but also in their
persons and houses the same happy dispo-
sition prevails:—while the North Western
Americans are nasty to a degree that rivals
the most filthy brutes, and, of course, pro-
hibits any description from us. Indeed, the
very disgusting nature of their food is not
diminished by the manner in which it is
eaten, or rather devoured.—Besides, their
being cannibals, if no other circumstance of
inferiority could be produced, throws them
to a vast distance from the rank which is
held in the scale of human being by the
countrymen of Tianna: nor should we pass
over in this place the frequent and solemn
declarations of this chief, that the natives of
the

the Sandwich Islands possess the most abhorrent sentiments of cannibal nature; and though they may immolate human beings on the altars of their deity, they have not the least idea of making such a sacrifice to their own appetites. Indeed, we trust it will not prove a vain hope, that these amiable people may soon be taught to abandon even their religious inhumanity; and that near half a million of human beings, inhabiting the Sandwich Islands, may one day be ranked among the civilized subjects of the British empire.

1788.

August.

1788.

AUGUST.

CHAP. XX.

The Crew of the Iphigenia employed on the new Vessel.—Arrangements made relative to the Ships.—Inhabitants prepare to retire to their Winter Quarters.—Dispositions relative to the exiled Part of the Crew, who are again received on board, on certain Conditions.—Maquilla and Callicum pay us a Visit previous to their Departure.—Presents made to these Chiefs.—The Sagacity of the latter.—A Sail seen in the Offing.—Boat sent out to assist her.—The Washington enters the Sound.—Some Account of her Voyage, &c.—The new Vessel named and launched.—A Crew appointed to her.—Orders delivered to the Iphigenia.—Tianna embarks on board her.—Escape of the degraded Boatswain;—Assisted by the Master of the Washington.—Quit King George's Sound, and proceed to the Sandwich Islands.

THE arrival of the Iphigenia infused not only into our minds new life and spirits, but enabled us to proceed in our different operations with redoubled vigour.—We now formed a very strong party; and, there-

therefore, had no doubt of being able to launch the vessel by the time we proposed. 1788.
AUGUST.

The voyage of the *Iphigenia* had also afforded us additional and very promising expectations of rendering the North West Coast of America a very important commercial station. She had very completely coasted the American shore, from Cook's River to King George's Sound, and had brought us the most indubitable proofs of the existence of the Great Northern Archipelago:—But this new, important, and very interesting object has already, we trust, satisfied the attention of our readers, in one of the introductory Memoirs prefixed to this volume.

The artificers of the *Iphigenia* were immediately employed to assist those of the *Felice* in forwarding the completion of the vessel. Indeed, they rather felt a jealousy on seeing the works we had formed; which acted as a stimulative to take an active share in the honour of them: so that the business of our temporary dock promised a very speedy completion. Nor were the seamen idle: some were added to the rope-makers, and others strengthened the party appointed to cut down spars for present use; and, in

1788. particular, to procure a new fore-mast for
August. the Felice, who, as we have related, had
sprung her's very soon after our departure
from Samboingan.

The season for retiring from the American coast was now approaching; and we had sufficient business on our hands to fill up the interval. Not only the new vessel was to be launched, manned, and equipped for a voyage of near fifteen hundred leagues, but the two ships were also to be prepared for sea; and when our situation, as well as the nature of our resources are considered, we must be allowed to have had no small difficulties to encounter; and that, from having conquered them, we have some claim, at least, to the praise that is due to unremitting industry, and resolute perseverance.

A new suit of sails was soon completed for the vessel on the stocks, which, as she was to be rigged as a schooner, was the more readily accomplished; but, independent of her storm-sails, this was all we could do for her in that branch of rigging.

Being, however, thus far, and thus happily advanced in our several preparations for our approaching voyages, it became a matter of
of

of immediate consideration to form the necessary arrangements of the two ships, not only for the present season, but also for the ensuing year. A very valuable cargo of furs had been collected, which it was our interest to transport to market with all possible dispatch;—it was, therefore, determined that the Felice, as soon as the new vessel was launched, should directly proceed to China; and that the Iphigenia, with the schooner, should remain to prosecute the general objects of our commerce.

This arrangement being settled, every exertion was immediately made to prepare the Felice for sea. For this purpose the sail-makers began upon her rigging, and the caulkers applied themselves to her upper-works, which, as well as her bends, were very leaky. As it was more than probable that we should enter the China seas at a very tempestuous season of the year, we were very attentive to the making every necessary provision for that, as we did for every other possible exigency of the voyage. In short, we followed up this business with such unremitting and active industry, that by the 4th of September the ship was ready for sea,

1788.
AUGUST.

SEPTEMBER.
Thursday 4

1788. having got her head fore-mast in, and being
SEPTEMBER. completely stored with wood and water.

The natives now began to make preparations for retiring from their present situation into the more interior part of the Sound; and we daily saw some of their embarkations, which we have described in a former chapter. On the 7th, Maquilla and Callicum paid us a visit, to notify in form, that, in a few days, they, with all their people, should remove to the winter residence, which was near 30 miles from the ship, and as many from the sea.

On receiving this information, we thought it incumbent on us to form some dispositions concerning the exiled crew. Their sufferings applied themselves very forcibly to our pity; and the humility of their solicitations, with their imploring promises of future fidelity and good behaviour, were not without their effect. But it required all the reflection we could bestow on the subject, to form a right judgment how to act in a crisis where individual feeling, and professional duty had much to settle, before a final decision could be made. The leaving these unhappy people behind, might have
been

been considered as cruelty to them; and the 1788.
receiving men on board, the return of whose SEPTEMBER.
daring and mutinous spirit would, to say no
worse, impede, if not wholly interrupt the
voyage,—might turn out cruelty to our-
selves.

They had, it is true, suffered very severely
for their past misconduct; and when they
were summoned to hear our final determina-
tion concerning them, their pale counte-
nances and dejected looks, accompanied by
the most abject declarations of repentance,
disarmed us, at once, of all our resentment;
and they were received into the ship on con-
senting to forfeit the wages already due to
them for nine months service, and that their
future pay should be proportioned to their
future good behaviour. To these conditions
they joyfully submitted, and once more
joined their comrades, after an interval, in
which they had known nothing but mortifi-
cation and distress. The power which was
exercised in depriving these men of the wages
due to them previous to their villainous at-
tempt to seize the ship, was founded in
strict justice: for, without considering the
wickedness of their design, and the fatal
con-

1788. consequences which would have attended
SEPTEMBER. the completion of it, their having prevented
the ship from putting to sea, for the benefit
of their employers, by which interruption a
considerable loss was sustained, was alone
sufficient to justify an act, which would make
them sharers in the loss that they had oc-
casioned.

On our arrival at China, however, the
whole of the wages which they had for-
feited, was bestowed upon them by the com-
miserating generosity of the owners.

We could not, after all, exercise too much
precaution in again receiving these dangerous
people amongst us. We indulged our dis-
positions to lenity with an apprehensive
satisfaction; and, in order to lessen the
possibility of mischief, we distributed them
among the two crews, which lessened, at
least, the power of communication with each
other. The boatswain, whose conduct had
been marked with previous disobedience, and
who was the ringleader of the mutiny, was
excepted from the general amnesty. It was
thought to be necessary, at all events, to
make him an example; more particularly
as we now discovered that he had added theft
to

to his other offences. He was accordingly 1788.
put under confinement in the house on shore. SEPTEMBER.

Thus was this very disagreeable business finally settled: but had we been less fortunate in the first discovery of the mutiny;— in short, had we been at such a distance from the ship, as not to have heard the first alarm on the occasion, the consequences would certainly have been destructive of the voyage, and might have proved fatal to ourselves.

Maquilla and Callicum now came to take their farewell of us, as they were going to depart for the place of their winter residence, and delivered themselves on the occasion in the warmest language, and with the most expressive looks of friendship. They knew that we were shortly to quit their coast, and expressed very affectionate wishes for our return. Maquilla entreated us again and again, whenever we proposed to get the little mamatlee or ship into the water, to send to him, and he would come down with all his people to give us the necessary assistance. They had, indeed, been constantly anticipating the difficulty that would attend us, as they expressed themselves, in pushing the

1788. vessel into the water, whenever she should
SEPTEMBER. be completed. These chiefs had paid a very regular attention to the progress of her construction, from the very beginning, to her present state of approaching completion; but without discovering any thing like the intelligence which grew up, as it were, and daily unfolded itself in the mind of Tianna.

Whatever opinion, therefore, we had formed of the capacity of these chiefs for the sentiments of friendship, we thought it prudent, with a view to our future interests, as presents had first obtained it, to secure the continuance of it, if possible, by the same prevailing influence.—We accordingly presented Maquilla with a musket, a small quantity of ammunition, and a few blankets. Nor did Callicum leave us without receiving equal tokens of our regard.

We made these chiefs sensible in how many moons we should return to them; and that we should then be accompanied by others of our countrymen, and build more houses, and endeavour to introduce our manners and mode of living to the practice of our Nootka friends.— This information seemed to delight them beyond measure; and

and they not only promised us great plenty 1788.
of furs on our return, but Maquilla thought SEPTEMBER.
proper, on the instant, to do obedience to us
as his lords and sovereigns. He took off his
tiara of feathers, and placed it on my head;
he then dressed me in his robe of otter-skins;
and, thus arrayed, made me sit down on
one of his chests filled with human bones,
and then placed himself on the ground. His
example was followed by all the natives pre-
sent, when they sung one of those plaintive
songs, which we have already mentioned as
producing such a solemn and pleasing effect
upon our minds.—Such were the forms by
which he intended to acknowledge, in the
presence of his people, our superiority over
him.—We now once more took our leave,
and returned on board the ship, clad in regal
attire, and possessed of sovereign power.—
We had, however, scarcely left the chief,
when Callicum came running after us, to
particularise his commissions, and repeat his
adieu.—There was something about this man
so amiable and affectionate, that I wished to
remain with him to the last; and I cannot
help relating every trifling circumstance in
this final interview.—He enumerated a long
list

1788. list of articles, that he desired us to bring
SEPTEMBER. him when we should return; all of which I took down in writing, to his entire satisfaction. Shoes, stockings, an hat, and other articles of our dress, were most particularly requested by him; and, when I returned him my assurance that his wishes should be gratified in the most ample manner, he immediately departed, after having taken me round the neck, and given me a most affectionate embrace. I felt it then, when I hoped to see him again;—and I feel it now—when I too well know I shall see him no more.

Poor Callicum had now, as at every former period, made known his wants in a particular manner to me; but I afterwards found that the whole village had, more or less, charged the memories of our people, as well officers as seamen, with their various commissions:—nor did the ladies of Nootka forget to make their claim to our remembrance of them. And here I cannot but mention, with some degree of pleasure, though mingled, I must own, with a preponderating sensation of pain, that, on our part, all their several commissions were most minutely executed. The Argonaut contained them all; as also the
several

several presents to Maquilla, Callicum, Wicananish, and the other chiefs to the Southward of King George's Sound, known by us, as well as those to the Northward of it, who had been discovered by the Iphigenia. The whole of which treasure had been selected and adapted with great care, and the most anxious attention to their fancies, as well as their necessities, when she was captured by the Spaniards.

It might be considered, perhaps, as tending to lessen the abhorrent idea which every Englishman should feel, and of which I, above all others, should be sensible, respecting the audacious and cruel conduct of the Spanish officer, by mentioning the subordinate disappointment I felt, when I reflected that Maquilla and Callicum did not enjoy their harmless pride in those dresses which had been prepared for them; and that the coffers of Wicananish were not filled with those vessels which had been expressly, and at no little trouble, obtained to enrich them. I shall therefore pass over the curious cargo provided for our Nootka friends, of which we and they were robbed by the Spanish commander; nor describe the quantity of
cast-

1788. cast-off cloaths, that we had collected at
SEPTEMBER. China, and loaded with buttons to suit their
fancy; and of which the Spaniards possessed
themselves with such avidity, as if they
were in want of this wardrobe, which was
destined for the savages of Nootka, to cloath
far greater barbarians.

Comekela, of whom we never entertained
a very favourable opinion, and of whose de-
ceitful conduct we had ample proof, not-
withstanding our kindness to him, while he
was at China, during his voyage from thence,
and after his return to Nootka, confirmed
us in our opinion of his ingratitude, by
leaving the Sound, without shewing us the
least mark of attention or respect:—He
therefore lost, as he deserved, the present
which was reserved for him; and we suf-
fered him to depart without any token of
remembrance from us.

Wednesday 17 We continued our operations, without the
intervention of any particular circumstance,
till the 17th of September, when a sail was
seen in the offing, which rather surprized
us; and we were not without our apprehen-
sions that it was the Princess Royal, who
had met with some accident that obliged her
to

to return. The long-boat was immediately 1788.
sent to her assistance, which, instead of the SEPTEMBER.
British vessel we expected, conveyed into the
Sound a sloop, named the Washington, from
Boston in New England, of about one hundred tons burthen.

Mr. Grey, the master, informed us, that he had sailed in company with his consort, the Columbia, a ship of three hundred tons, in the month of August, 1787, being equipped, under the patronage of Congress, to examine the Coast of America, and to open a fur-trade between New England and this part of the American Continent, in order to provide funds for their China ships, to enable them to return home teas and China goods. These vessels were separated in an heavy gale of wind, in the latitude of 59° South, and had not seen each other since the period of their separation;—but as King George's Sound was the place of rendezvous appointed for them, the Columbia, if she was safe, was every day expected to join her consort at Nootka.

Mr. Grey informed us that he had put into an harbour on the Coast of New Albion, where he got on shore, and was in danger of
VOL. I. Z being

1788 being lost on the bar: he was also attacked
 SEPTEMBER. by the natives, had one man killed, and one
 of his officers wounded, and thought himself
 fortunate in having been able to make his
 escape. This harbour could only admit ves-
 sels of a very small size, and must lie some-
 where near the Cape to which we had
 given the name of Cape Look-out.

The master of the Washington was very
 much surprized at seeing a vessel on the
 stocks, as well as on finding any one here
 before him; for they had little or no notion
 of any commercial expeditions whatever to
 this part of America. He appeared, how-
 ever, to be very sanguine in the superior ad-
 vantages which his countrymen from New
 England might reap from this track of
 trade; and was big with many mighty pro-
 jects, in which we understood he was pro-
 tected by the American Congress. With
 these circumstances, however, as we had no
 immediate concern, we did not even intrude
 an opinion, but treated Mr. Grey and his
 ship's company with politeness and atten-
 tion.

Saturday 20 On the 20th, at noon, an event, to which
 we had so long looked with anxious expec-
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tation, and had been the fruit of so much 1788.
care and labour, was ripe for accomplish- SEPTEMBER.

ment.—The vessel was then waiting to quit the stocks; and to give all due honour to such an important scene, we adopted, as far as was in our power, the ceremony of other dock yards.—As soon as the tide was at its proper height, the English ensign was displayed on shore at the house, and on board the new vessel, which, at the proper moment, was named the North West America, as being the first bottom ever built and launched in this part of the globe.

It was a moment of much expectation.—The circumstances of our situation made us look to it with more than common hope.—Maquilla, Callicum, and a large body of their people, who had received information of the launch, were come to behold it. The Chinese carpenters did not very well conceive the last operation of a business in which they themselves had been so much and so materially concerned. Nor shall we forget to mention the Chief of the Sandwich Islands, whose every power was absorbed in the business that approached, and who had determined to be on board the vessel when she

1788. glided into the water. The presence of the
SEPTEMBER. Americans ought also to be considered, when
we are describing the attendant ceremonies
of this important crisis ; which, from the
labour that produced it,—the scene that sur-
rounded it,—the spectators that beheld it,
and the commercial advantages, as well as
civilizing ideas, connected with it, will at-
tach some little consequence to its proceed-
ing, in the mind of the philosopher, as well
as in the view of the politician.

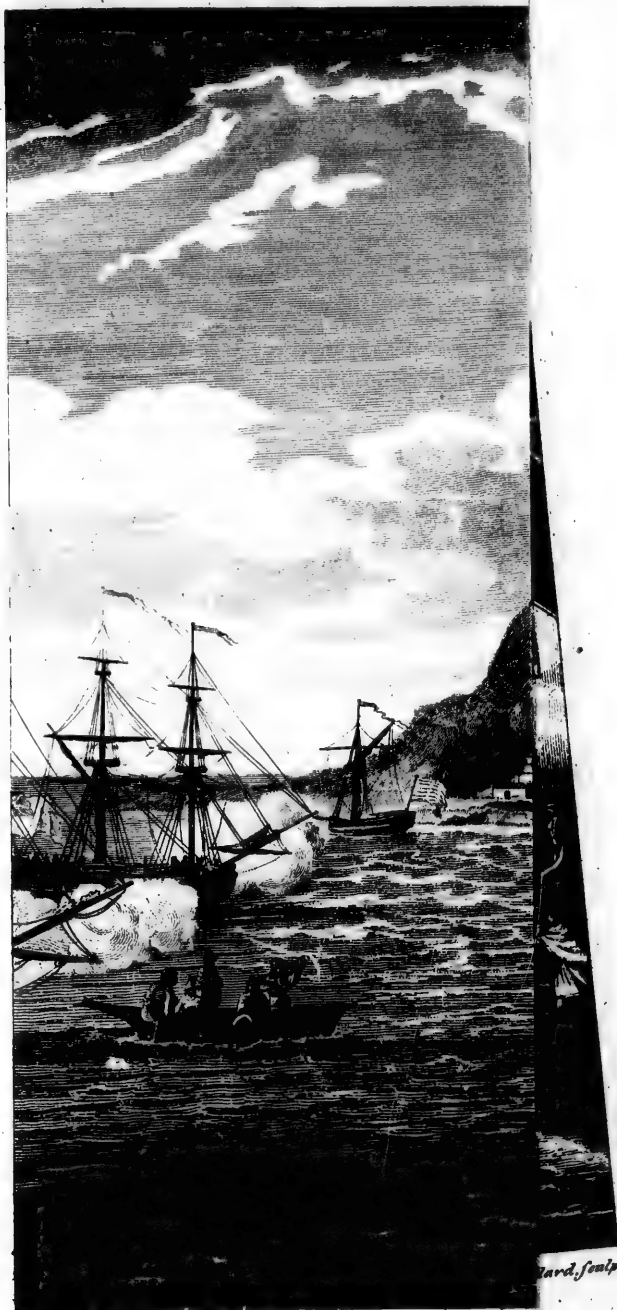
But our suspense was not of long duration ;
—on the firing of a gun, the vessel started
from the ways like a shot. —Indeed she went
off with so much velocity, that she had nearly
made her way out of the harbour ; for
the fact was, that not being very much ac-
customed to this business, we had forgotten
to place an anchor and cable on board, to
bring her up, which is the usual practice on
these occasions : the boats, however, soon
towed her to her intended station ; and in a
short time the North West America was
anchored close to the Iphigenia and the
Felice.

Tianna, who was on board the vessel at
the time of her being launched, not only saw,

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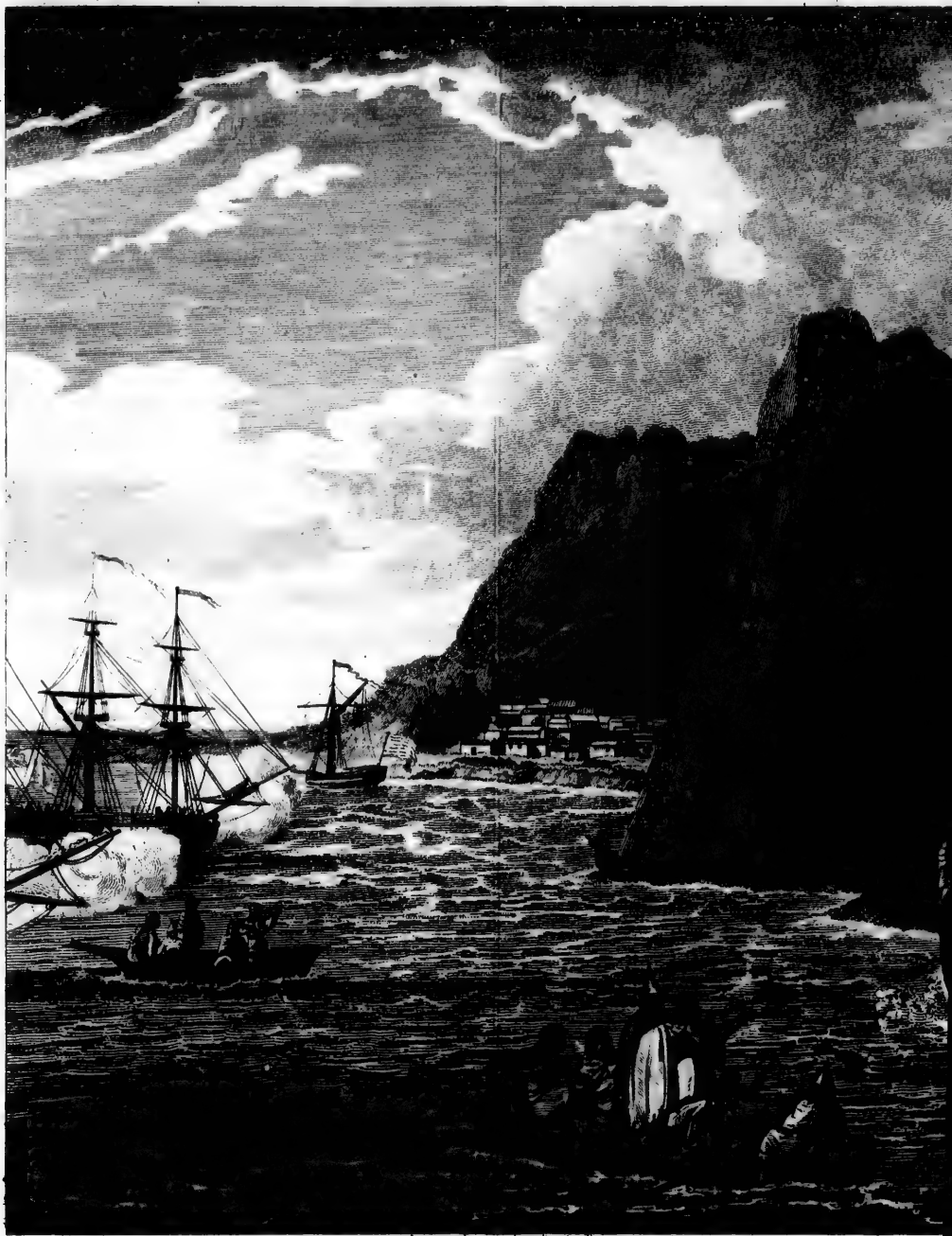
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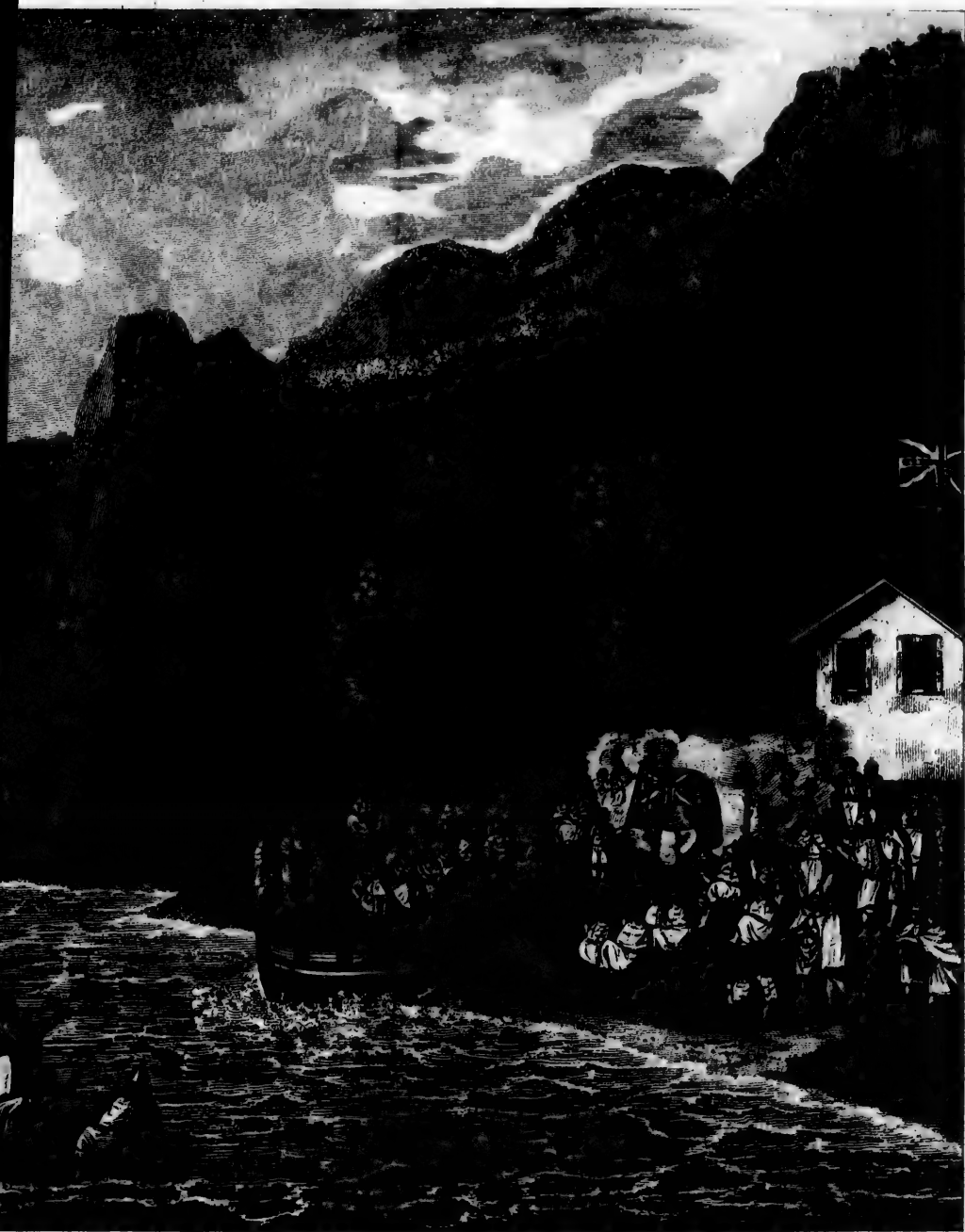
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*The Launch of the North West America
Being the first Vessel that was ever built in*

Published Aug. 16 1790. by J. Walter & Son N^o.



*North West America at Nootka Sound.
The first vessel that was ever built in that part of the Globe.*

R. Pollard, sculp.

p. 356

Aug. 16. 1790. by J. Walter & Son N^o. 169. Piccadilly.

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but may be said to have felt the operation, 1788.
as if it had been the work of enchantment; SEPTEMBER.
and could only express his astonishment by
capering about, clapping his hands, and ex-
claiming *Myty, Myty*; a word the most ex-
pressive in the language of the Sandwich
Islands to convey wonder, approbation, and
delight. The Chinese carpenters were also
in an almost equal degree of astonishment, as
they had never before been witnesses of such
a spectacle. Nor were the natives of the
Sound, who were present at this ceremony,
less impressed by a series of operations, the
simplest of which was far above their com-
prehensions. In short,—this business did not
fail to raise us still higher in their good
opinion, and to afford them better and more
correct notions than they hitherto possessed,
of the superiority of civilized, over savage
life.

A commander, officers and crew, were
immediately selected from the *Felice* and
Iphigenia, to navigate the North West Ame-
rica; and each of the ships sent her propor-
tion of stores on shore, to equip her for sea.

And here, I trust, it will not be considered
as an impertinent digression, if I express my
gra-

1788. gratitude to that example of professional rigor and perseverance, which in my early years were set before me, on the opposite side of this continent, where ability and courage alleviated, in some measure, the chagrin of unsuccessful war. The campaigns in Canada owe their only honour to the naval warfare on the lakes of that country; and it was my good fortune, when a youth, to be enured in such a school, to the hardships and difficulties of naval life, and to learn there, that temper and perseverance must be added to professional knowledge, in order to surmount them.—I am ready to acknowledge that, for the little skill I may possess, as a professional man, as well as the patience I have exercised, and the perseverance which I have exerted, in this or any other voyage, I am indebted to the rigid discipline which necessarily arose from the continual action, hazard and conflict of the service in which I was first engaged.—Some little experience has convinced me that dangers and difficulties form the best school of maritime education; and he that has been so employed as to have seen every thing, and so circum-

stanced

stanced as to despise nothing, cannot fail of rendering service to his country. 1788.
SEPTEMBER.

On the 24th, the Felice being ready for Wednesday²⁴ sea, the orders marked N° V. in the Appendix, were given to Captain Douglas, to direct his future proceedings.—The North West America was added to his command, and Tianna once more embarked on board the Iphigenia, as she was destined to carry him to the Sandwich Islands.

This arrangement was preferred after some deliberation; for I myself felt a strong inclination to restore the amiable chief to his country; but as I could not remain more than a few days at the Sandwich Islands, and as the Iphigenia was destined to winter there, it was thought a more expedient measure to send him home in her; as it would, in a particular manner attach him to her people, and, of course, promote their comfort and security during the time, which would probably occupy several months, of their stay there. These reasons were sufficient for us, on account of the general interest of the expedition, to return Tianna to the Iphigenia;—but there were also other reasons

1788. reasons for pursuing this measure, for his
SEPTEMBER. own sake.

We had been informed by one of the vessels which returned to China from the Sandwich Islands, subsequent to us, that Tianna's brother, Taheo, sovereign of Atooi, was become so fearful of the power he might acquire from us, as to meditate his destruction; and that, in all probability, some secret attempt would be made on his arrival to cut him off. It was necessary, therefore, for the preservation of Tianna, that he should be taken back in that vessel, which, by her long stay there, might ensure his safety, till the jealous fit of his tyrant brother was passed away, and a perfect reconciliation had taken place between them.

We now sent all the stores we could possibly spare on board the Iphigenia; and, in return, received her cargo of furs. We also took on board a considerable quantity of fine spars, fit for top-masts, for the Chinese market, where they are very much wanted, and of course proportionably dear. Indeed, the woods of this part of America are capable of supplying with these valuable materials all the navies of Europe.

In

In the evening the officers, &c. of the *Iphigenia* and the *North West America* came on board the *Felice* to bid us farewell. *Tianna* was not the last to shew us that mark of his regard;—and indeed, to do justice to his amiable disposition and friendly nature, whenever kindness could be shewn, or generosity expressed, he was among the first.—Nor could he say adieu to *Noota*, the name universally given me both in America and the Sandwich Islands, without a frame almost convulsed with agitation, and tears gushing down his cheeks.—Nor could I, though proceeding to complete my voyage with the fairest hopes of success, take my leave of that worthy man, and the companions of our toilsome enterprise, without emotions that required all my resolution to suppress.

Neither should I do justice to the conduct of those employed in this commercial expedition with me, if I did not mention the alacrity which was displayed by the officers of every denomination,—and, indeed, by all the inferior people,—to accommodate themselves to our peculiar circumstances. It was necessary to have several changes among the

1788. crews of both ships, in order to give a proper complement of officers and men to the North West America, in which the general interest of the expedition was alone considered by all ;—and I think it my duty to record on this grateful page, the sense I have of, and the advantages their employers received from, their manly and accommodating conduct on the occasion.

We now hove up the anchor, and, with a strong wind blowing from the North West, the *Felice* put to sea. — The crews of the *Iphigenia* and the *North West America* gave us three cheers at our departure, which awakened every echo of Friendly Cove. We returned the same animating adieu ;—and, before it was dark, had almost lost sight of Nootka Sound.

It may not be improper just to mention, that the day after the arrival of the American vessel at Nootka Sound, the discarded boat-swain broke from his confinement, and escaped, with several articles he had stolen, into the woods, with a view to obtain protection from the Washington; in which, as we have since been informed, he succeeded.

For

For the master of that vessel, with what 1788.
propriety I shall not pretend to observe, not SEPTEMBER,
only sent him provisions to his hiding-place
in the woods, but, immediately on the de-
parture of our ships, received him on board
his vessel, in which he did duty before the
mast.

END OF VOLUME I,